

DECEMBER 1956  
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**THE** *Southwestern*  
**SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY**

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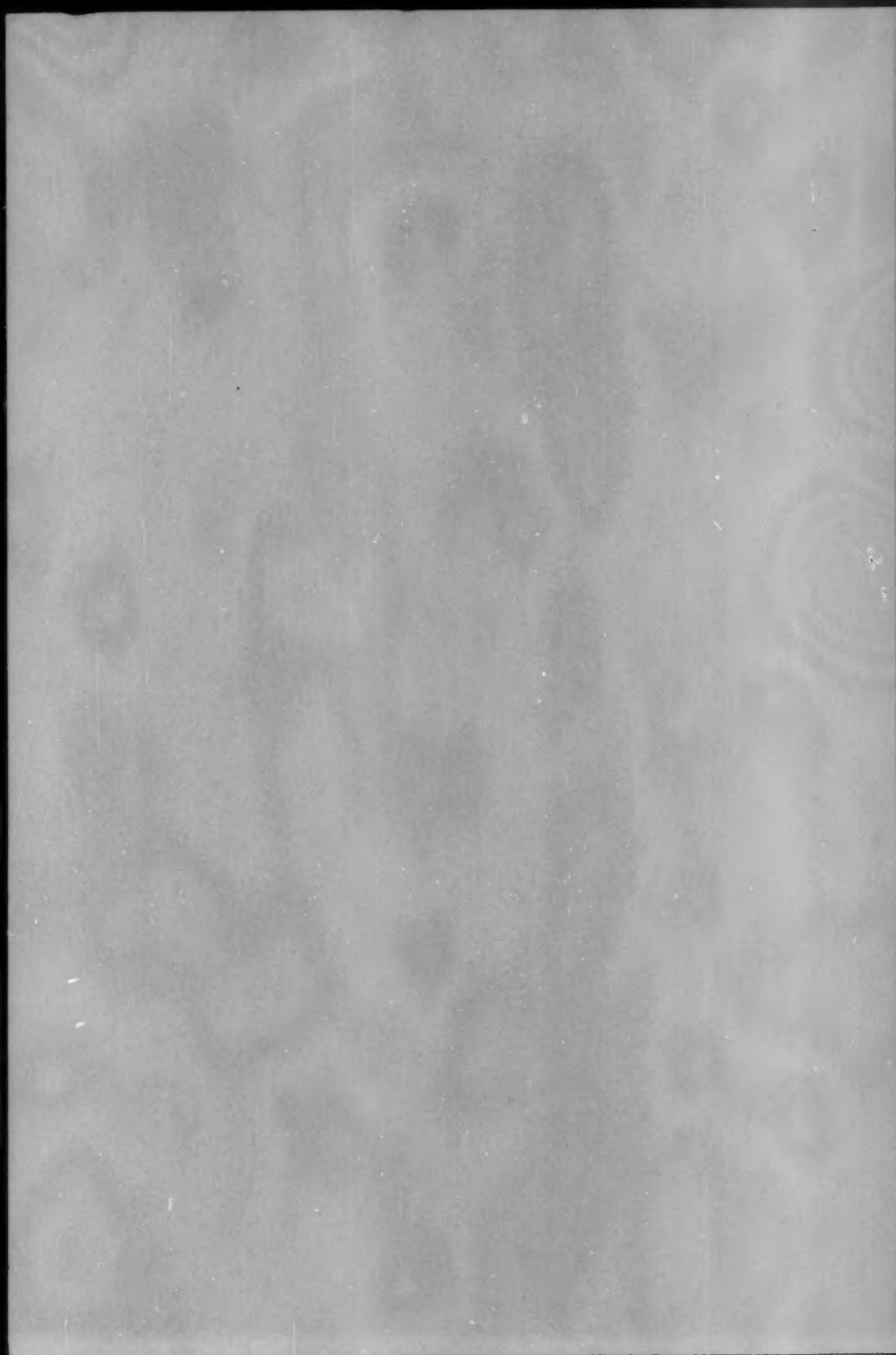
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# Congressional and Senatorial Campaign Committees in the Mid-term Election Year 1954

GUY B. HATHORN  
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

GENERALLY, it is held that the congressional campaign committee issued from the struggle between the Radical Republicans and President Johnson during the congressional election of 1866.<sup>1</sup> Actually, in the elections of 1860 and 1864 the Republicans in Congress used a joint campaign committee to propagandize on behalf of the party's presidential and House candidates.<sup>2</sup>

Congressional and senatorial campaign committees defy logical classification within the party's organizational structure. Traditionally, congressional leaders have insisted that these committees are not subordinate to the national committees. Such words as "independent," "co-ordinate," and "separate" have been used to describe the nebulous relationship existing between the congressional and national party organizations. Certainly, in past years when national committees were not organized to direct mid-term elections, there is little doubt that the campaign committees acted independently. In

<sup>1</sup> See Jesse Macy, *Party Organization and Machinery* (New York, Century Company, 1904), pp. 31-32. Also V. O. Key, *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (3d ed., New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952), p. 346; Howard R. Penniman, *Sail's American Parties and Elections* (5th ed., New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952), p. 299; Hugh A. Bone, *American Politics and the Party System* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949), p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> The Library of Congress card catalog lists the campaign documents issued by this group under "Republican Congressional Committee." In 1860 its official name was "The Republican Executive Congressional Committee"; in 1864 it was the "Union Congressional Committee." In both cases its membership consisted of senators and representatives. Over seventy titles were listed in 1860 which the committee made available for distribution to the public. For the advertisement of the Republican Executive Congressional Committee, see David D. Fields, *The Danger of Throwing the Election of President into Congress* (Republican Executive Congressional Committee, 1860), p. 8. Included in the committee's 1864 literature was the publication "Songs for the Union." One song was entitled "How McClellan Took Manassas," the first verse of which ran:

Heard ye how the bold McClellan—  
He, the wether with the bell on;  
He, the head of all the asses—  
Heard ye how he took Manassas?

recent years, during both presidential and biennial elections, the national committees have worked closely, though not always harmoniously, with the congressional organs. Complete financial independence is no longer the rule for the latter committees. One should not conclude that because most of the funds for the campaign committees' operations are provided through the national party organizations the hazy power relationship between the national and congressional groups has been drastically altered. It is entirely possible that subventions from a national committee might be looked upon as a desirable guaranteed income, particularly if generous amounts are forthcoming with no strings attached.

In a large measure, the continued existence and importance of the senatorial and congressional campaign committees symbolize the desire of congressional leaders to protect their interests when they believe these interests to be counter to the ambitions of the national party organization. At the moment, a fairly happy compromise arrangement seems to have been worked out in both parties. Only time can attest to its permanency.

The historical development and role of the senatorial and congressional campaign committees in the American party system remain to be told. The purpose of this paper is to detail the activities of these groups in the mid-term election of 1954.

### *Membership and Organization*

Two-year terms are the rule for all members serving on campaign committees. However, some variation exists in their selection. At present, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee is the only group that is wholly appointive. The Democratic leader in the Senate appoints a chairman, who in turn chooses the remainder of the members. Reappointment is customary, but no senator serves when he himself is a candidate for re-election.<sup>3</sup> Eight senators, including the chairman,<sup>4</sup> served during the 1954 campaign.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee's membership is selected by the Republican Conference Committee,<sup>5</sup> with the selected members choosing a chairman.<sup>6</sup> Currently, nine senators make up the committee.

The Democratic National Congressional Committee is composed of one member from each state and territory having Democratic representation in the House. Each state's party delegation selects a member, and the selection is not referred to the party caucus.<sup>7</sup> The chairman is elected by com-

<sup>3</sup> Clarence Cannon, *The Official Manual of the Democratic National Convention* (Democratic National Committee, 1952), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Earl C. Clements, of Kentucky, was chairman during the 1954 campaign.

<sup>5</sup> *Republican Fact Book* (Washington, Republican National Committee, 1954), p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, during the 1954 campaign.

<sup>7</sup> Cannon, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

mittee members.<sup>8</sup> Women who were not members of Congress have sometimes been appointed to this committee, but this practice has not been followed in recent years.

The National Republican Congressional Committee is composed of one member from each state having Republican representation in the House. Each state delegation nominates a member, and this selection is subject to a formal vote of approval by the party conference.<sup>9</sup> The committee chooses its own chairman.<sup>10</sup>

Theoretically, the chairmen of all these committees are selected by the committee members with the exception of the Democratic senatorial committee. It would be unusual, however, for the members to make a choice without guidance from party leaders. Apparently, party leaders in Congress suggest the chairman and the committee confirms the choice. A number of other committee officers are named by each group—not including salaried staff personnel—who may or may not be members of Congress.<sup>11</sup> Some of these designations are purely honorary. For example, one committee continues to name as cochairman a person who has not served in Congress for several years. Another committee does not give its treasurer the responsibility of filing financial statements with the clerk of the House.

The Democratic House group assigned members to an executive committee, speaker's committee, finance committee, and research committee. In 1954, at least, the latter two committees were inoperative. The Republican congressional committee made assignments to an executive committee and an auditing committee. The Democratic senatorial organization set up only a finance committee.

The Republican senatorial committee was the only congressional group using a geographical organizational structure. With the exception of the chairman, each member was named "director" for a particular region of the country. The divisions were: Midwest states, Mountain states, Lake states, New England states, Middle Atlantic states, Southern states, Western states, and Border states.

No matter what the organization, it remained, by and large, for the committee chairmen to bear the responsibility for decisions. The full committees

<sup>8</sup> Michael J. Kirwan, of Ohio, during the 1954 campaign and also for the 1955–56 term.

<sup>9</sup> *Republican Fact Book* (1954), p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> Richard M. Simpson, of Pennsylvania, during the 1954 campaign and also for the 1955–56 term.

<sup>11</sup> For the Democratic congressional committee: three vice-chairmen, secretary, associate secretary, treasurer, and sergeant-at-arms.

For the Republican congressional committee: four vice-chairmen, secretary, assistant secretary, and treasurer.

For the Republican senatorial committee: co-chairman, vice-chairman, and treasurer.

For the Democratic senatorial committee: secretary-treasurer.

seldom, if ever, convened after their organizational meetings. Of course, informal contact with committee members and frequent consultations with the congressional party leaders were the rule for all chairmen.

All the campaign committees maintain a permanent, salaried staff.<sup>12</sup> The Republican congressional committee carried by far the most elaborate staff organization, with the monthly payroll sometimes running as high as \$15,000 for the employment of thirty-five persons.<sup>13</sup> At least one-third of the staff worked in the Public Relations Division. The other committees' staffs were much smaller during 1954: the Democratic congressional committee employed five persons; the Democratic senatorial committee, four; and the Republican senatorial committee usually three, though the latter group did hire additional personnel from time to time.

### *Operating Funds*

Until recent years the campaign committees of Congress ordinarily enjoyed an independent financial status. At times, their fund-raising techniques were questioned, in and out of Congress.<sup>14</sup> Within the past twenty years, however, the trend has been toward subsidization of the congressional groups by other party agencies.

The Republican party makes use of a "united solicitation" plan in which the national, congressional, and senatorial organizations are supported along with the lower echelon committees.<sup>15</sup> Under this policy, the Republican National Finance Committee determines the over-all requirement of the committees at the national level. State organizations are assigned quotas based on various economic and political criteria. The national, the senatorial, and the congressional committees are each assured a certain percentage of the total funds collected. In 1954 the distribution was approximately 66 per cent to the national committee, 23 per cent to the congressional committee,

<sup>12</sup> The Democratic senatorial committee did not adopt this policy until 1952.

<sup>13</sup> The number of persons employed was not altogether an election year phenomenon. In January, 1953, the committee employed twenty-five persons.

<sup>14</sup> The Democratic party made a campaign issue out of the method employed by the Republican congressional committee in 1882. The latter committee sent a letter to many federal office-holders soliciting funds in which was said: "The committee is authorized to state that such voluntary contributions from persons employed in the service of the United States will not be objected to in any official quarter."—*The Campaign Book of the Democratic Party* (Washington, Democratic Congressional Committee, 1882), pp. 208–10. In 1913 it was revealed that the Democratic committee had assessed party members in both houses \$100 each to raise campaign funds. Apparently this had been standard procedure for years.—See "Contributions for Political Purposes," *House Report No. 677* (63d Cong., 2d sess.).

<sup>15</sup> *Republican Fund Raising* (Washington, Republican National Finance Committee, 1955), p. 5.

and 11 per cent to the senatorial committee. As the funds come in, they are allotted by the finance committee on this predetermined basis.

No independent collections are carried on by the committees in Congress. Any funds mailed directly to a committee are charged against its allotment. Obviously this scheme has not removed entirely the competition for available funds, but it has placed it in a different setting. Now the struggle takes place before the funds are collected, i.e., in determining the percentage to be granted each committee.

If the over-all fund goal had been reached by the Republicans in 1954, the Republican congressional campaign committee was to have received \$900,000 and the senatorial campaign committee, \$400,000. Actually, the former received \$581,377<sup>16</sup> and the latter, \$295,093.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike the Republicans, the Democrats in 1954 did not have a centralized collection and distribution committee such as the Republican National Finance Committee. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee depended almost entirely upon the national committee for funds, but the senatorial committee raised a large part of its own receipts.

Technically, two Democratic House groups, both staffed by the same salaried personnel and consisting of the same congressional membership, were engaged in aiding party candidates. The first, the Democratic National Congressional Committee, is a service organization for its party, operating every year. The second, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, was the vehicle for distributing funds to Democratic candidates. The first committee mentioned was granted \$50,000 by the national committee to carry on its day-to-day activities. The campaign committee reported its total receipts for 1954 as \$210,450.<sup>18</sup> This latter figure is misleading unless clarified.

Because of the use of "exchange" and "directed" funds, the Democratic congressional campaign committee was not free to use the full amount of its receipts as it pleased. Exchange funds are monies collected in the various states in fulfillment of their quotas, but with the understanding that the funds will come back to the state organization for use in that particular state. Directed funds are contributions given under an agreement that the money will go to a specified individual's campaign. In both cases the cam-

<sup>16</sup> Report of Robert V. Fleming, treasurer of the National Republican Congressional Committee, to the clerk of the House of Representatives for the period ending December 31, 1954.

<sup>17</sup> Report of John A. Reilly, treasurer of the Republican Senatorial Committee, to the clerk of the House of Representatives for the period ending December 31, 1954.

<sup>18</sup> Statement of Kenneth R. Harding, assistant to the chairman of the Democratic National Congressional Committee, to the clerk of the House of Representatives for the period ending December 31, 1954.

paign committee merely acts as the transmitting agency, but it must account for the disbursement. Both parties use this system to some extent, but the Republican committees do not list directed funds as such in their reports to the clerk of the House. Apparently there is a major difference in the way the two parties handle exchange funds. In the case of the Republicans, many of these funds never leave the states, so they do not show up in the accounting to the clerk of the House. Some Democratic exchange funds do not leave the states, but relatively large amounts of exchange monies passing through the congressional and senatorial committees do appear in the reports to the clerk of the House.

Of the \$210,450 reported as receipts by the Democratic congressional campaign committee, 43.6 per cent was state exchange funds, 23.2 per cent directed funds, 27.5 per cent general grants from the national committee, and 5.7 per cent collections by the campaign committee.<sup>19</sup> In other words, the campaign group was free to spend exactly as it wished only 33.2 per cent of its total receipts.

The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee has continued to raise the greater part of its campaign funds. Its success in this respect in 1954 makes it seem unlikely that the group will forgo this prerogative in the near future. The committee reported total receipts of \$328,904. Of this total, 64.7 per cent was collected by the committee,<sup>20</sup> 12.8 per cent was a grant from the national committee, 10 per cent was directed funds from the national committee, 12.2 per cent represented loans, and 0.03 per cent other receipts.<sup>21</sup> Thus the senatorial committee was able to spend 90 per cent of its funds in any manner it saw fit.

#### *Financial Aid to Candidates*

Distributing funds to party candidates is an established function of the campaign committees. Even though in some instances the amount furnished may be small in comparison to the total expenditures on behalf of the candidate, this represents the most tangible type of assistance possible, and therefore is especially important as a morale-builder to those who receive it.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The figures are based upon the various quarterly and final reports filed with the clerk of the House.

<sup>20</sup> These figures are based on the *Statement of Leslie L. Biffle*, secretary-treasurer of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee of 1954, to the clerk of the House of Representatives for the period ending December 31, 1954.

<sup>21</sup> Senator Stuart Symington, of Missouri, was chairman of the finance committee. Approximately 73 per cent of the funds raised by the senatorial committee came from contributions of \$1,000 or more from individuals or organizations. Included in this 73 per cent was \$7,000 from labor organizations, and \$14,000 from a Senator's Day Committee in Missouri.

<sup>22</sup> One cannot get any realistic calculations as to what percentage of each candidate's



The National Republican Congressional Committee spent \$706,072 in 1954.<sup>23</sup> Of this figure, \$275,500, or 39.2 per cent, went as campaign contributions to candidates or organizations in the states.<sup>24</sup> Of the \$256,592 disbursed by the House Democratic organization, \$206,235, or 79.8 per cent,

TABLE 1

Funds to Candidates through Congressional Committees

Fund-Range in Dollars	Number of Congressional Districts	
	Democratic	Republican
\$ 1-\$ 100	17	0
101- 499	27	1
500- 999	48	72
1,000- 1,499	40	51
1,500- 1,999	7	40
2,000- 2,499	2	29
2,500- 2,999	0	9
3,000- 3,499	0	5
3,500- 3,999	0	5
4,000- 4,499	2	0
4,500- 4,999	0	0
5,000- 5,499	1	0
5,500- 5,999	1	0
	145	212

went back into the state campaigns.<sup>25</sup> Table 1 shows the varying amounts channeled to the individual candidate's campaigns by the parties. These figures include both directed funds and contributions made solely by the congressional committees but do not include any exchange funds.

Into 145 districts the Democrats spread \$114,341, of which \$48,793 was directed funds and \$65,548 was in committee contributions. The Republicans spent \$265,750 in 212 districts. Their reports do not show what part of this amount was to be considered as directed funds.

financial support came through the congressional or senatorial committees by examining the individual financial statements of the candidates. Many candidates do not report under national law the expenditures on their behalf by various local committees. A case in point is the statement of the Republican senatorial candidate in Oregon who reported zero expenditures.—See "Campaign Spending," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, XIII, No. 15 (April 15, 1955), pp. 369-422. Actually, the Republican senatorial committee contributed \$9,250 to committees organized to support this candidate, plus \$7,246 to certain state organizations.

<sup>23</sup> Its receipts for the year were only \$581,377.

<sup>24</sup> All figures for this section are based on the various committee reports filed with the clerk of the House.

<sup>25</sup> Including both the Democratic National Congressional Committee and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.



Contrary to popular belief, it is not only the close or marginal district candidates who receive financial support, particularly from the Republican congressional committee. Obviously, any definition of a "marginal" district is open to question, and, more important, there is no sure way of predicting when a district will suddenly enter or leave the marginal category. The Republican congressional committee arbitrarily designates any district as marginal when the Republican candidate receives from 45 to 55 per cent of the total vote cast. According to this standard, there were 90 such districts following the 1952 election, and 94 based on the 1954 returns, but in 1954 the Republican committee aided candidates in 212 constituencies.

Iowa is a case in point. The Democrats have not won a district in this state in the last three congressional elections; as a matter of fact, using the Republican yardstick, there has not been a marginal district here in the same length of time. Nevertheless, each of the eight Republican candidates received \$1,000 from the congressional committee. On the other hand, the Democratic committee wasted little money in Iowa; two Democratic candidates received a total of \$527.

In Kansas a slightly different situation existed. The Democrats managed to win one district in 1952, with all others being classified as nonmarginal. The Democratic committee put \$1,000 into the First District, trying to hold the seat. The Republicans gave \$2,000 to their candidate, who was successful in ousting the Democrat. However, the Republican congressional committee also distributed a total of \$3,000 among the remaining five districts, winning all of the seats, with only one of these being classified as marginal on the basis of the 1954 vote. The Democratic committee did not spend a dollar in the latter five districts.

On the basis of the disbursements of the Republican congressional committee in Iowa, Kansas, and in other states, one is led to the conclusion that Republicans work on the theory that their candidates, even in "sure" districts, should be given some degree of financial backing by the congressional organization. Since the Republican group had more funds than its Democratic counterpart, this token backing of Republican candidates in "safe" districts often amounted to more than Democratic candidates received from their committee in close races.

At the other extreme, the Republican committee was willing to spend small amounts of money in certain traditionally Democratic constituencies in the South. Apparently the operational theory here was that if the Republicans ever expected to win the districts in the future, the party organization should receive token financial support now. Thus in Virginia candidates in the Second, Third, Seventh, and Eighth Congressional Districts received aid in amounts varying from \$200 to \$700. In the 1954 elections

Republican candidates in these districts received 25.5 per cent, 42 per cent, 25.8 per cent, and 33.4 per cent, respectively, of the total vote.

In the 1954 campaign the Democratic congressional committee did not attempt to aid candidates in "sure" districts. In the first place, its resources were less than those of the Republican committee; and in the second place, there were more safe Democratic constituencies. To be helpful in the South, such a policy would involve support in the primary elections, and both parties make it a practice to stay clear of primary struggles. Because of the cross-filing system used in California, however, the Democratic committee did give money to a number of incumbent candidates in that primary election. It was felt that unless some financial aid was given in the primary, there might not be any Democratic candidates in some of the districts for the general election. Altogether, the congressional organization distributed \$12,500 to candidates in 13 districts before the primary election. These candidates, however, did not receive any additional committee funds for the election campaign.

The Democratic committee transmitted \$91,894 in exchange funds to state and local organizations in twelve states, while the Republican group passed on only \$9,750 in exchange funds to state and local committees in four states.

The Republican senatorial campaign committee disbursed \$373,910 in 1954.<sup>26</sup> Of this sum, \$225,566, or 60.1 per cent, went to candidates or organizations in the states. The Democratic senatorial committee placed its expenditures at \$326,605. Of the total, \$258,131, or 79 per cent, was directed to candidates or organizations. Table 2 shows the range of funds for the various senatorial races. These figures include directed funds, exchange funds, and the contributions of the senatorial committees.

The fact that both senatorial committees contributed to twenty-eight campaigns does not mean the same campaigns in every case. For example, in South Carolina the Democratic senatorial committee gave support through the state committee to the regular Democratic nominee, Edgar A. Brown, against the write-in candidate, Strom Thurmond. In New Hampshire the Republican senatorial organization aided the party's candidates for the two seats at stake; the Democratic committee confined its aid to the party candidate contesting for the full-term seat.

In the twenty-four campaigns where both candidates were supported by their respective senatorial committees, the Republican candidate in fourteen cases received more funds than his Democratic opponent. However, the candidates in the four states obtaining the most Democratic support—Ohio,

<sup>26</sup> Receipts for 1954 amounted to \$295,093.

Oregon, Illinois, California—received a total of \$91,138, or 35.7 per cent, of the total committee aid. The candidates in the four states obtaining the most Republican support—Oregon, Kentucky, Wyoming, Colorado—received a total of \$54,716, or 28.7 per cent, of the total committee aid.

Directed funds accounted for considerable portions of the money disbursed by the Democratic senatorial committee in certain states. For Senator Douglas in the Illinois race, 27.7 per cent of the funds coming from the

TABLE 2

Funds to Candidates through Senatorial Committees\*

<i>Fund-Range in Dollars</i>	<i>Number of Senatorial Candidates</i>	
	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Republican</i>
\$ 0-\$ 999	2	0
1,000- 2,999	5	1
3,000- 5,999	3	7
6,000- 8,999	5	9
9,000- 11,999	5	7
12,000- 14,999	2	3
15,000- 17,999	2	1
18,000- 20,999	1	0
21,000- 23,999	2	0
24,000- 26,999	1	0
	28	28

\* The total in each fund-range includes the money transmitted to the candidate, his organization, or the state organization. In three of the states where senatorial campaign committees made contributions, there were two races in progress; one was for the regular term, the other for an unexpired term. Each of these is treated as a separate item in the fund-range column. It was possible to do this because in none of these cases was the contribution directed to the state organization.

committee were from the directed category; and of the funds going from the committee to Neuberger, of Oregon, 12.9 per cent were directed contributions.

The Republican senatorial committee, like the Republican congressional committee, gave fairly liberal aid to its candidates in what are normally considered Republican states. Thus the candidates in Kansas, Maine, Nebraska, and New Hampshire received from \$5,300 to \$7,500. In every one of these states with the exception of Maine, the Republican candidates got more aid from their senatorial organization than did the Democrats. But in states such as Tennessee and West Virginia, where most observers expected a Democratic victory, each Republican candidate was aided to the extent of \$4,500, as compared to the Democratic committee's support of \$2,500 in Tennessee and \$1,000 in West Virginia. Stated differently, the fund-range between the candidates supported by the Republican committee was not so

great as between candidates in the Democratic organization. The spread for the Republican candidates ranged from \$5,000 to \$16,496; for the Democratic candidates, from \$600 to \$25,032. Even if the listed directed funds are disregarded for the Democrats, the spread was from \$600 to \$20,840.

### *Other Activities*

All activities of congressional and senatorial campaign committees are directed toward one ultimate purpose: helping party members get elected to Congress. The financial aid given to campaigners, especially for the House seats, is often considered by committee staff members as less important than other services offered the candidates.

In times past, one of the most important functions of congressional committees was the printing and distribution of campaign literature. Describing the work of the National Republican Congressional Committee in this area, an observer in 1880 wrote:

But the great aim of the committee—all else that it did was subsidiary to that—was the circulation of political literature. This end it sought to reach by two methods: First, by the publication and mailing to individuals and to local committees in all parts of the country of such Congressional speeches as treated thoroughly and effectively any phase of the current political situation; second, by furnishing the Republican press, through the medium of weekly sheets of carefully prepared matter, with accurate information as to the facts underlying existing issues and with suggestions as to their best treatment before the people.<sup>27</sup>

Today, very little of the campaign committee's attention is devoted to the publication and distribution of literature designed to influence the general public, this task being left primarily to the national committees. Instead, the committee publications are more likely to be of a specialized type, intended for the use of the candidate. The voting record of the opposing candidate is a good example of this specialized service. All the campaign committees undertake to furnish upon request information as to how the opposite party's candidate stood on roll-call votes. The Democratic committees, especially, make this service a major project.

The Democratic congressional committee prepares a document, complete with a subject-matter index, numbering each roll call consecutively, together with the day of the month upon which it occurred, the page of the *Congressional Record* where it will be found, and the subject of the issue at hand. In addition, a sheet is made up on each Republican congressman, showing how he voted on each of these occasions. Using these two aids, the Demo-

<sup>27</sup> Zachariah Chandler: *An Outline Sketch of His Life and Public Services* (Detroit, The Post and Tribune Company, 1880), p. 313.

cratic candidate can pin-point his opponent's stand on all questions where a roll call was demanded.

In some respects, the voting record prepared by the Democratic senatorial committee, with the assistance of the national committee, is even more detailed than the congressional one, described above. In 1954 each Democratic candidate running against a Republican incumbent had at his disposal the voting record of his opponent for the years 1947 through 1954. One column in the booklet was headed "Democratic Majority Vote." This column showed how the majority of the Senate Democrats voted in those cases where a majority of the Republicans voted the opposite way. The Democratic candidates were advised: "By and large, when your Senator votes contrary to the 'Democratic Majority Vote,' you can use that vote in a campaign against him."

The committees prepared many other items in 1954 for the candidate's benefit. The Republican congressional committee issued a pamphlet, *Blueprint for Victory 1954*, in which were listed some of the services that the committee was prepared to furnish Republican candidates. A weekly newsletter, described as "a compendium of facts, figures, and quotations, all bearing on the 1954 campaign," was also published by this group and distributed to all its candidates.

The "Speech Kit" was another Republican congressional committee innovation. This was a loose-leaf book containing speeches and political data on campaign issues. The speech material was so designed, by paragraph and subhead, that a candidate in preparing a speech could "lift a concise discussion on one part of an issue out of the draft in the Kit without changing it."<sup>28</sup>

The Democratic senatorial committee sent a memorandum to Democratic candidates calling attention to the campaign material available through the national committee. Its candidates were also given suggestions dealing with the general subject of publicity.

Of course, all the committees were attentive to the requests of reporters for campaign information. Too, press releases had to be taken care of. Generally speaking, very few releases were issued from the committee as such. In the majority of cases, releases would issue under the name of some congressman or senator, even though they were prepared by staff members.

The Publicity Division of the Republican congressional committee was extremely active in aiding the candidates with their newspaper publicity. Candidates received, without charge, a portfolio of finished ad layouts, containing mats and proofs. Each layout stated a major campaign issue. Instruc-

<sup>28</sup> *Blueprint for Victory 1954* (Washington, Republican Congressional Committee, 1954), p. 2.

tions were that once the financing of the ad had been provided for, the mat should be delivered to the paper, and a one-column mat of the candidate's picture should accompany the ad layout, together with data for setting in type the candidate's name at the appropriate place in the ad.<sup>29</sup>

The Democratic senatorial committee was most active in supplying reprints of magazine articles and copies of newspaper stories to its candidates. Some of these were sent to all candidates, but many were selected and distributed with particular candidates in mind.

All the committees did a certain amount of research for individual candidates, the Democratic groups apparently stressing this type of service more than the Republicans. The Democratic congressional committee keeps a record of every word spoken on the House floor by a Republican congressman. Upon request, this complete file is delivered to the Democratic candidate. Often candidates of both parties wanted speech material that was not readily available. Committee staff members did what they could to honor these requests. On occasion, the Democratic House group has even aided a member in drafting proposed legislation!

The Publicity Division of the Republican congressional committee also provided considerable campaign material in 1954 designed for use on radio and television. Radio spot announcements were prepared with the recorded portion running forty seconds; then the local announcer would come in and read a plug for the congressional candidate, lasting ten to twenty seconds. A typical radio spot announcement was as follows:

Subject—Agriculture. Sound—A down-swooping note on some instrument.  
*Announcer*—Tobogganing farm prices, that's what the Republicans inherited from the Trumanites—tobogganing farm prices and enormous, uncountable surpluses threatening the whole farm price structure. Immediately, the Republicans went to work. They pulled farm prices out of the plunge. They started the greatest expansion of storage facilities in the history of the world, and they started a realistic farm policy with a future. Farmers' income is now moving upward.

Vote for a Republican Congress in 1955 and 1956 to protect farm income. Vote Republican in November! (End of recorded portion.) (To be read by announcer in local radio station.) Vote for — for Congress. Help elect —. Remember, — will serve you well.

Longer radio shows were also distributed, the recorded part taking approximately five minutes, followed by the announcement for the local candidate. Candidates were provided with material suitable for television spot announcements and also with script and visual aids useful in preparing their own television shows.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Blueprint for Victory 1954*, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 8.



The Republican House committee made available color-film presentations, thirty minutes in length, with appropriate music and the narration done by professionals. The candidates did have to furnish the projectors, but the committee gave concrete suggestions on how to secure and use the necessary equipment.<sup>81</sup>

Both Republican committees retained the services of photographers for the candidates' benefit. The Democratic committees had photographers available for their candidates, but the expense involved was borne by the candidates. The Republican congressional committee had a cameraman on hand at all times to take motion pictures of the various activities of Republican congressmen in Washington. If Congressman X wanted a permanent record made showing him acting as guide about the Capitol for a group of school children from his district, the cameraman was at his command. For obvious reasons, this particular service proved very popular.

Art work was still another service offered by the Republican committee in the House. If a candidate had an idea for a campaign poster, he brought it in and professional personnel did the rest. If the candidate came to the art section not knowing exactly what he wanted for campaign cards or posters, he was shown a display from which he could choose what appeared to fill his needs.

Both Republican committees used some field representatives in the 1954 campaign. One of the principal staff members of the Republican senatorial committee was designated as "director of field operations." He traveled throughout the land, making contact with the state and local organizations and generally sizing up the political situation in the various states. Personnel of the two Republican committees actively assisted some candidates in the conduct of their campaigns. Often their primary job was to make suggestions toward the creation of a working campaign organization from the precinct upward. These committee representatives were very careful to avoid giving the appearance of issuing orders. In the first place, they were there only at the invitation of the candidate.

At one time congressional and senatorial committees all operated independent speaker's bureaus. This function is now carried out by the speaker's bureaus attached to the national committees, though close liaison is maintained between these groups and the congressional organs. As a matter of fact, the Democrats use the chairman of the Congressional Speaker's Committee and a member of the Senatorial Campaign Committee as co-chairmen of the Speaker's Bureau for the party.

<sup>81</sup> *Visual Aid Presentation* (prepared by the National Republican Congressional Committee).



*Summary*

Congressional and senatorial committees continue to play an important role in American party affairs. Their existence, in part at least, may be taken as a manifestation of the separation-of-power principle applied within the parties' national organizational structure.

Campaign committees in Congress have always asserted their independent status—meaning freedom from the control of the national committees. Today, with the national committees of both parties actively participating in biennial as well as presidential elections, it is natural that the theme of "co-operation" be stressed by the congressional groups, without, however, admitting any diminution of their prerogatives.

To a large extent, these committees have given up the important function of fund-collecting. In 1954 the Republican committees received a definite percentage allotment of the total funds collected by the Republican National Finance Committee. The Democratic congressional campaign committee collected only a very small percentage of its funds, but the Democratic senatorial group raised the majority of its own receipts. Data given do not necessarily mean that the national party organization has brought the campaign committees under its dominium; it may mean only that the congressional committees find it more convenient to operate in this fashion.

The campaign committees continue to distribute considerable funds in support of the candidates. Although in 1954 the Republican organizations in both the Senate and the House spent more money than their Democratic counterparts, the Democratic organs channeled a higher percentage of their funds in direct contributions to the candidates. The Democrats were also more prone to concentrate their financial support in what appeared to be the doubtful constituencies.

In numerous other ways the campaign committees attempted to help the candidates. The publication and distribution of campaign aids, designed for the candidate's use rather than for general-public circulation, was a primary activity. The Republican committees' limited use of staff personnel as advisers to the candidates in the conduct of the campaigns may well be a significant development.

Finally, the work of the Public Relations Division of the Republican congressional campaign committee, particularly its use of radio, television, motion pictures, and art work, represents a new approach on the part of a campaign committee in Congress to come to the aid of the party.

# Adam Smith: Practical Realist

RICHARD H. POWERS

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

*Men fight and lose the battle, and the thing they fight for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes, turns out to be not what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name.*—William Morris

THE *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776. A tract for the times, within five years Adam Smith's great work was translated into Danish, German, French, and Italian. In the next century Buckle voiced a sentiment which was then very widespread when he commented that the *Wealth of Nations* was probably the most important book ever written. Even after 1900 an English economist could write: "Why is this one of the great books of the world? We would like to say simply: It is the world's verdict; take it or not as you like, but whether you like it or not, it stands. One cannot argue with universal consent."<sup>1</sup>

Consent is no longer universal. It was never quite that. But Adam Smith remains one of the most frequently cited authorities on the editorial pages of our press. Among those who defend the American Way of Life against the subversion of graduated income taxes and collective bargaining, at least some would have us believe that their "point of view was crystallized by Adam Smith in his epoch making book."<sup>2</sup>

The "father of economics," Adam Smith is credited with being not only "the first and the greatest but the master" of the classical economists.<sup>3</sup> Thus it is natural that a leading scholar should have concluded that "the moral and economic justification of the business man was one of the most characteristic features of the *Wealth of Nations*."<sup>4</sup> In a typical college textbook summation, Arthur May writes that Smith believed that government "should simply act as a silent policeman; it should protect property, enforce contracts and improve means of transportation, all beneficial to business.

<sup>1</sup> Francis W. Hirst, *Adam Smith* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904), p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Willford I. King, *The Keys to Prosperity* (New York, Constitution and Free Enterprise Foundation, 1948), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Jacob H. Hollander, "The Founder of a School," in *Adam Smith, 1776-1926* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Melchior Palyi, "The Introduction of Adam Smith on the Continent," in *Adam Smith, 1776-1926*, p. 218.

The state, he felt, might properly own industries engaged in producing military equipment, but that exception apart, individual enterprise should be unfettered."<sup>6</sup>

Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract* appeared in 1762. Few books have had a more profound effect on modern society, and there are those who would give it the place Buckle assigned to the *Wealth of Nations*. An impassioned declaration of the equality of all men, the work is frequently named as the source of both totalitarian and democratic tenets. The most severe critics profess to see its logical outcome in twentieth-century totalitarian ideologies. Dorn has remarked that it "proclaims and glorifies the unlimited absolutism of the state," and he concludes that "Taine's characterization of Rousseau's state as a prison and a monastery does not appear too severe."<sup>6</sup> Rousseau has, of course, been subjected to the most varied and dissimilar interpretations imaginable; and even with respect to Adam Smith all is not agreement.<sup>7</sup> But Dorn and May represent the prevailing academic viewpoints.

Adam Smith, the canny, practical Scot, and Jean Jacques Rousseau, the neurotic frustrate, giant figures of a great century, have had very different disciples. Probably no two other equally important thinkers of the Enlightenment are so seldom associated with one another. Yet Smith spoke of Rousseau "with a kind of religious respect." He declared that the *Social Contract* would "one day avenge all the persecutions" Rousseau suffered during his lifetime.<sup>8</sup>

The prevailing interpretation of Adam Smith certainly makes his admiration of Rousseau seem paradoxical; his particular praise of Rousseau's one work that might appear to be furthest removed from his own point of view is remarkable. In this article emphasis will be placed upon that part of Smith's work that is quite suited to an admiration of Rousseau. Such admiration did in fact exist, and it might seem that this aspect of Smith's outlook should be given a larger place in any synthesis of his work than is usual. At the heart of the systems of the two men was a remarkably similar presumption.

Adam Smith believed that philosophy is the highest form of human activity. A means to human happiness and perfection, it considers man not

<sup>6</sup> *A History of Civilization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 179.

<sup>7</sup> *Competition for Empire* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940), p. 233.

<sup>8</sup> Among the writers on Rousseau who deserve most careful attention are Charles William Hendel, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau Moraliste* (2 vols., London, Oxford University Press, 1934); Ernest Hunter Wright, *The Meaning of Rousseau* (London, Oxford University Press, 1929); and Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951).

<sup>9</sup> John Rae, *Life of Adam Smith* (London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1895), pp. 231, 372.

only as an individual but as a member of a family, of a State, and of the great society of mankind. Although it seemed to him that in many cases man is "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention," Smith did not believe that the end itself was inscrutable. Nor was anything in his formulation contrary to Rousseau's belief that the substitution of justice for instinct as the foundation of a man's conduct gave human actions a morality they had previously lacked. To consult reasons before listening to inclinations was not at all contrary to Smith's preachments. He simply believed that frequently unreasoning man unwittingly serves society by his selfish quest for security.

In the *Social Contract* Rousseau attempted to construct a system which would combine "right sanctions with what interest prescribes, so that justice and utility in no case may be divided."<sup>9</sup> No less than Adam Smith, he built upon the given fact of human selfishness. Yet, although "practical" is a popular word to apply to Smith, "utopian" is probably the adjective most commonly used to describe Rousseau. In one important respect the men were equally utopian.

A full discussion of Rousseau's concept of the general will is not possible here. The interpretations of his pages on the subject are uncommonly dissonant. It can be agreed, however, that in Rousseau's system the general will is always right, and always tends to the public good. Majority opinion might be something very different. For, although one's own best interest is inseparable from the general interest, and one always wishes one's own good, one does not always comprehend it. When deceived people appear to wish what is bad, then the will of all might see private interest. The general will sees only the common interest. This led Rousseau to a practical suggestion:

If when the people, sufficiently informed, deliberate, the citizens have no communication with one another . . . the decision will always be good. But when factions arise, and partial associations are formed at the expense of the great association . . . one may then say that there are no longer as many votes as men, but only as many as there are associations. . . . Finally, when one of these associations is so great as to prevail over all the rest, you no longer have a sum of small differences, but a single difference; then there is no longer a general will, and the opinion which prevails is purely particular opinion.

It is therefore essential, if the general will is to express itself, there should be no partial society within the State, and that each citizen should think only his own thoughts.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> C. E. Vaughan, *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1915), Vol. II, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

Rousseau's strict definitions that limit in an absolute way the legitimate areas in which the sovereign may act and how it may act make the charge of "totalitarianism" meaningless. Out of context, it is patent how the above statement could lead to this allegation. And few would undertake to deny the "utopianism" of prescribing that "each citizen should think only his own thoughts," or that "citizens have no communication with one another" when they deliberate.

But Rousseau's utopianism resembles that of Adam Smith. Smith believed passionately that organized special interests were bad for society. As did Rousseau, he believed that if interested people could be prevented from combining into factions, or if such persons, out of a rational understanding of their real interests, would refrain from doing so, liberty might be expanded without compass. Rousseau described an ideal; his suggestions are meant to be practical only in the sense that they show the way and fix the goal. No reader of his work can conclude that he expected his ideal to be established by eighteenth-century Europeans, or by their immediate descendants. Nor did Adam Smith wish or expect to see created the world which so elated his followers of mid-nineteenth-century England. He too knew that men had to change, to learn to live as members of the human race.

There has been a minority report. Some have even made Smith the theoretical founder of nineteenth-century socialism.<sup>11</sup> And in his study Eli Ginzberg wrote that Malthus and Ricardo had "no legitimate ground to consider themselves the lineal descendants of the distinguished Scottish economist."<sup>12</sup> He refers to the tragedy of Adam Smith, "who was praised by the descendants of his enemies, and scorned by the descendants of his friends."<sup>13</sup> The fact remains that university teachers in the social sciences, particularly those in government or history, are likely to cite the famous reference to the "invisible hand" and let this be Adam Smith. The reference has a definite meaning in the mid-twentieth century, and many associations. It conjures up a picture of the NAM, the Chamber of Commerce, the AMA, and brings on a reaction in keeping with one's prejudices regarding these great American interests. The quotation is familiar:

... the annual revenue of every society is always precisely equal to the exchangeable value of the whole annual produce of its industry, or rather is precisely the same thing with that exchangeable value. As every individual, therefore, endeavors as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest

<sup>11</sup> Paul H. Douglas, "Smith's Theory of Value and Distribution," in *Adam Smith, 1776-1926*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>12</sup> *The House of Adam Smith* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 160.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

value; every individual necessarily labors to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it . . . he intends only his own security . . . he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.<sup>14</sup>

Smith concluded that revenue is diminished every time capital and industry are not left to their natural employments:

Without any intervention of law . . . the private interests and passions of men naturally lead them to divide and distribute the stock of every society, among all the different employments carried on in it, as nearly as possible in proportion which is most agreeable to the interest of the whole society.<sup>15</sup>

He believed that the desire of man to better his condition "comes with us from the womb, and never leaves us until we go into the grave." Furthermore, he recognized that "an augmentation of fortune is the means by which the greater part of men propose and wish to better their condition." Indeed, he did not equate this form of the desire either with virtue or with a fixed law of human nature—augmentation of fortune was simply the "most vulgar and the most obvious means" men in Smith's environment recognized for bettering their condition.<sup>16</sup> This, however, is the Adam Smith the classical school exploited and immortalized.

Leslie Stephen wrote that:

when industrial development has modified old class relations; or when the governing classes have ceased to discharge their functions, new principles are demanded and new prophets arise. The philosopher may then become the mouthpiece of the new order and innocently take himself to be the originator.<sup>17</sup>

Referring to the same phenomena, J. S. Mill remarked that the Utilitarians voiced "the interests and instincts of large portions of society recently grown to strength." The classical economists elevated the capitalist to a position of supreme importance in society. Describing the influence of this school between 1830 and 1870, Payli referred to the period as a time "during which the practical teachings of Adam Smith had their glorious days of actual application to policies in England as well as on the continent."<sup>18</sup> For Adam Smith's motivation in propounding his thesis of freedom had been quickly

<sup>14</sup> Edwin Cannan (ed.), *Adam Smith's An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (2 vols., New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), Vol. I, p. 421.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 129.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 323, 324.

<sup>17</sup> Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians* (3 vols., London, Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1902), Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Adam Smith, 1776-1926*, p. 182.



forgotten: "He had most assuredly not been interested in extending any favors to the merchants and manufacturers, but had rather attempted to discover a means of rescuing the public from the clutches of these rapacious animals."<sup>19</sup>

In the first place, Smith based his economics on an industry that had hardly entered the Industrial Revolution. Norman Ware points out that in 1776 technical advances had not yet upset the social order, there had been "nothing to give one man a great advantage over another and thereby destroy the essentials of successful competition; nothing to make Adam Smith the spokesman of modern capitalism."<sup>20</sup> Then, as Viner has made so clear, "the emphasis upon a benevolent deity as the author and guide of nature is almost, though not quite, completely absent in the *Wealth of Nations*."<sup>21</sup>

The best-known quotation from Smith's work represents the author's viewpoint very poorly. The exceptions which Smith acknowledges to the doctrine of a natural harmony in the economic order are so comprehensive that they leave little of the principle itself. What he inveighed against was not what we think of as government regulation of business, but privileges granted to business by government. He hated monopoly, and in his day monopolies were privileges granted by the State. As the Hammonds put it, his individualism "was directed . . . against authority exercised in the interests of the few."<sup>22</sup> When he attacks the State for interfering with the natural economic laws, he always means interference in the form of favors granted to the business world, at the insistence of sinister special interests.

No notion is more foreign to Smith than that there is an identity between the capitalist's will and the interests of the whole society. What is good for General Motors may indeed be good for the country, but Adam Smith was the last person to have thought so. He never fancied that the interests of the producer and the consumer were identical. He wrote in part: "The interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer. The maxim is so perfectly self-evident, that it would be absurd to attempt to prove it."<sup>23</sup> Smith simply took for granted that consumption was the sole end and purpose of production. And so he could conceive of no worse government than one directed by businessmen. He believed that "the mean rapacity, the monopolizing spirit of merchants and manufacturers, who neither are, nor ought to be, the rulers of mankind,

<sup>19</sup> Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>20</sup> *Wealth and Welfare: The Backgrounds of American Economics* (New York, William Sloane Associates, 1949), p. 121.

<sup>21</sup> Jacob Viner, in *Adam Smith, 1776-1926*, pp. 126-27.

<sup>22</sup> J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc., 1926), p. 215.

<sup>23</sup> *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, p. 159.



though it cannot perhaps be corrected, may very easily be prevented from disturbing the tranquillity of anybody but themselves."<sup>24</sup> No one realized better than Adam Smith that this spirit had to be controlled by man-made laws, by regulation.

In his day the masses were without direct political influence. Only a small privileged minority had a share in government. Government regulation, subsidies, and protection were all voted by the English Parliament, by men who were voting privileges for themselves. All the social measures that in good time followed upon universal suffrage—minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws, legalized labor unions, modern social security legislation, high inheritance and sharply graduated income taxes—were inconceivable in the world Smith knew. Not a word he wrote can be construed as an argument against them. His concern was the whole society; he preached limits on a power always used, and, he thought, certain always to be used, by the rich and powerful for their own benefit and at the expense of the community.

According to Adam Smith, monopolies attracted capital into fields where it would not "naturally" have been drawn. The only result was to reduce the nation's total wealth. He defined "natural price" as follows:

When the price of any commodity is neither more nor less than what is sufficient to pay the rent of the land, the wages of the labour, and the profits of the stock employed in raising, preparing, and bringing it to market, according to their natural rates, the commodity is then sold for what may be called its natural price.<sup>25</sup>

The actual price might be the same, less, or more, but prices constantly tended toward the natural price. In a free economy they would eventually always reach it. Monopoly, of course, interferes with this law, which came to be termed the "law of supply and demand." Smith believed that the business world worked constantly to subvert it:

In every country it always is and must be the interest of the great body of the people to buy whatever they want of those who sell it the cheapest. The proposition is so very manifest, that it seems ridiculous to take any pains to prove it; nor could it ever have been called in question, had not the interested sophistry of merchants and manufacturers confounded the commonsense of mankind. Their interest is, in this respect, directly opposite to that of the great body of the people.<sup>26</sup>

Again no "identity of interests," again no doubt about whose interests Smith is most concerned, and little question regarding the implied remedy.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 457-58.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 458.

The wage theory of the classical school justifies the Hammonds' declaration that "the standing misery of the poor as a recognized and indispensable condition of national welfare" became accepted dogma. Adam Smith answered his disciples in advance on almost all of their views regarding labor. In Ricardo's system the capitalist will was in harmony with universal economic law, a law that was beyond human power to control or regulate. And, because economic progress depended upon the amount of capital available to start new enterprises and expand old ones, the profits of the capitalist spelled public gain. High wages "neutralized" industrial advance. There was no way to keep profits up except by keeping wages down.

In the first place, Smith scorned the argument, so popular among his followers, that in bad times workmen are more industrious than when times are good and wages are high. He was familiar with the argument, and made this reply:

A plentiful subsistence . . . it has been concluded, relaxes, and a scanty one quickens their industry . . . that men in general should work better when they are ill fed than when they are well fed, when they are disheartened than when they are in good spirits, when they are frequently sick than when they are generally in good health, seems not very probable.<sup>27</sup>

He would have nothing of the deduction that the worker is not a member of a true economic class, that his condition is not necessarily connected with any particular degree of progress. For one thing, well-paid workmen increase the national wealth, and this is the ultimate purpose of all sound economic practice. He emphasized another point, important to him, though not to his school:

Servants, labourers and workmen . . . make up the far greater part of every great political society. But what improves the circumstances of the greater part can never be regarded as an inconveniency to the whole. No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable.<sup>28</sup>

Smith could not view the majority of men in the light of machines "which it has required a certain outlay of labour to construct." And after presenting a pragmatic argument in favor of well-paid workmen he went on: "It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, cloath and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labour as to be themselves tolerably well fed, cloathed and lodged."<sup>29</sup> The Scottish moralist noted that "rent and profits eat up wages, and the two superior

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

orders oppress the inferior one."<sup>30</sup> One may safely conclude that "oppress" was a pejorative word here, meaning something little or no different from "exploit."

Few persons have been further removed from the prejudice that wealth betokens virtue than was Adam Smith. He observed that the rich and the ruling class were everywhere identical, but this was not justice, merely sad and true. That the authority of fortune was much greater than that of personal qualities was "the constant complaint of every period of society which admitted of any considerable inequality of fortune." But because qualifications of the mind are invisible qualities, "always disputable, and generally disputed," past societies had always been forced to settle rules of precedence and rank and subordination according to something "more plain and palpable."<sup>31</sup> So, without Smith's approval, wealth ruled: "All for ourselves, and nothing for other people, seems, in every age of the world, to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind."<sup>32</sup>

In the classical formulation only the capitalist could save, because of the "law of wages." Savings, which could only arise from great inequalities in income, meant public gain. By restricting their consumption, the "virtuous rank" saved their surplus for the purpose of additional investment—they alone made the wheels of industry go round. Adam Smith did believe that parsimony, not industry, was the immediate cause of increase in capital. Industry provided that which parsimony accumulated, but capital would never increase without savings.<sup>33</sup>

Whereas the classical economists equated frugality with virtue, Smith simply thought parsimony "natural," not a peculiar mark of any rank. He believed that environment might dull man's natural tendencies—ambition, prudence, and parsimony. For although he argued that the poor work better when comfortable and happy, he believed that great wealth kills initiative: "In England, success in the profession of law leads to some very great objects of ambition; and yet how few men, born to easy fortunes, have ever in this country been eminent in that profession?"<sup>34</sup>

Now to a brief examination of Smith's views on the function of the State. He wrote:

According to the system of natural liberty, the sovereign has only three duties to attend to; three duties of great importance, indeed, but plain and intelligible to common understandings: first, the duty of protecting society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies. . . .<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 67.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 386–87.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 250.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204–205.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 423.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184–85.

It is well known that Smith admitted the possible, or probable, necessity of State support to domestic industry for purposes of national defense. It would be irrelevant to belabor the possible ramifications of this principle in modern society. Examples are all around us.

The second duty of the State was "the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice. . . ." <sup>36</sup> How presume that Smith would not have had the State interfere with the activities of the unscrupulous businessman, whose schemes he felt were *always* directed toward oppressing the majority of the people?

The third duty of the State, as he outlined it, is most interesting of all:

. . . the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions, which it can never be for the interest of any individual, or small number of individuals, to erect and maintain; because the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals, though it may frequently do much more than repay it to a great society. <sup>37</sup>

One liberty Adam Smith did not favor was religious liberty. He believed that religious enthusiasm and superstition (very much the same thing, if he distinguished at all between them) were dangerous evils against which the State should take positive action. A "free trade" in ideas among the ignorant was no part of his philosophy. Among the public institutions that the State should erect and maintain he considered the most important to be educational establishments. He dreamed of a better society, and his plans included having the State root out wrong ideas. The State had the duty to educate the people because the ignorance of uneducated people made them fertile soil for the growth and spread of intolerant fanaticism, or "religious enthusiasm." Of the gross ignorance and stupidity which, even in a civilized society, seemed often to benumb the understanding of all the inferior ranks of people, he wrote:

A man without the proper use of the intellectual faculties of a man, is, if possible, more contemptible than even a coward, and seems to be mutilated and deformed in a still more essential part of the character of human nature. Though the state was to derive no advantage from the instruction of the inferior ranks of the people, it would still deserve its attention that they should not be altogether uninstructed. <sup>38</sup>

Thus instruction of the ignorant had an objective beyond that of merely reducing the dangerous possibility of religious enthusiasm. Again we have the moralist.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

For the rich, Smith advised only a system of State regulation. He believed that if the upper orders were entirely free from superstition, society would really be insured from great danger on this score. The method? The "study of science and philosophy."<sup>39</sup> By "philosophy" Adam Smith meant the investigation of wherein consists the happiness and perfection of a man, "considered not only as an individual, but as a member of a family, of a State, and of the great society of mankind."<sup>40</sup> He proposed that the State might render the study of science and philosophy

almost universal among all the people of middling or more than middling rank and fortune . . . by instituting some sort of probation, even in the higher and more difficult sciences, to be undergone by every person before he was permitted to exercise any liberal profession, or before he could be received as a candidate for any honourable office of trust. . . . Science is the great antidote to the poison of enthusiasm and superstition; and where all the superior ranks of the people were secured from it, the inferior ranks could not be much exposed to it.<sup>41</sup>

#### A State license in right thinking!

Smith did not believe that the State, once the foregoing system was in operation, would need to provide schools for the comfortable classes. But schools should be provided for the poor. He believed that for a small expense the public could encourage, or even "impose" upon the people the necessity of learning to read, write, and account:

The public can impose upon almost the whole body of the people the necessity of acquiring these most essential parts of education, by obliging every man to undergo an examination or probation in them before he can obtain the freedom in any corporation, or be allowed to set up any trade in a village or town corporate.<sup>42</sup>

Surely we are nearer Rousseau's monastery than the anarchy of Herbert Spencer.

A serious difficulty was posed to the eighteenth century by its identification of man with nature, both being the necessary product of natural law. This identification threatened to eliminate purpose from the world and lead to Pope's conclusion that "whatever is, is right." Carl Becker, believing that there had thus arisen the necessity to separate society from nature once more, wrote: "It is well known that such separation was effected by Rousseau: 'Man is born free but is everywhere in chains'; 'naturally good it is society which corrupts him,' so ran the famous formula of the new dualism."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>43</sup> "The Dilemma of Diderot," in *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1935), p. 282.

Smith believed that in an ideal world the undisturbed working of natural economic laws would create the greatest possible degree of material prosperity. He was under no illusions about the nature of the real world. Men unenlightened by philosophy formed combinations in order to pursue class and professional interests and in this way subverted the natural order. In this sense at least he believed that environment did corrupt men, and he had hope that society, acting rationally and using the State as an instrument, might improve environment by spreading enlightenment.

In a different enough way Rousseau attempted to deal with evils that corrupt "nature." But both he and Adam Smith had hope for a better, more natural society. They shared a sympathy for the many who were weak against the few who were strong. The State that Smith knew was an instrument of privilege. The theoretical State of Rousseau served all equally. Hence, it is no paradox that Adam Smith should have deeply admired a man who agreed with him that organized special interests and religious fanaticism were among the greatest social evils. Nor is it remarkable that he respected a man who was so much more greatly endowed than himself. The eighteenth century was an age of faith. Jean Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith were brothers-in-arms, crusaders in the same humanitarian cause.



# Changing Social Roles in the New South

JOSEPH S. HIMES

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM

**S**Ocial role is generally understood to refer to an identifiable configuration of manifested and expected individual behavior. Patterns of conduct become stabilized and systematized through repetition and reciprocal modification. The configuration is regarded as both stable and adaptable, and includes both unique and general aspects.

In practice, the concept of the meaning of social role has been employed in three somewhat different ways. First, it may denote that unique configuration of manifested social behavior that distinguishes each individual. It constitutes the special way the individual performs the complexes of his expected social behavior. Stress is laid on individual differences in the performance of general social patterns. In this sense "social role" is equivalent to the "life style" of the individual. This use of the term is illustrated by the idiosyncratic twists that each individual gives to the performance of such general social parts as man, husband, father, or professor.

A second role Jessie Bernard has pointed out:

The social psychologist thinks in terms of group roles. In task-oriented groups, for example, such roles as those of the idea-man role and the emotional expressive role have been distinguished experimentally. Whenever the members of a task-oriented group begin to interact, these roles tend to emerge. . . . Other group roles which have been differentiated are: opinion-giving role, hostile critic role, encourager roles, and the like. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Thus conceptualized, it is possible to envisage both the unique and general aspects of social roles as functional elements of on-going social systems. The social role is viewed as a constituent part of a functionally interdependent system of social roles. Sociological and socio-psychological analyses of groups employ the concept in this way. It is one major heuristic device used in the investigations of small groups. The application of this meaning of the term "social role" is illustrated in studies of small, informal groups in

<sup>1</sup> Jessie Bernard, "Changing Familial Roles and Their Implications for Societal Stability," unpublished paper read at the Nineteenth Annual Groves Conference on Marriage and the Family, New York, March 12, 1956.



industry, correctional and mental institutions, military organizations, business offices, and the like.<sup>2</sup>

Third, social role may be viewed as a unit part of institutional structure. It is a more or less standardized mold, or form, composed of the sanctioned institutional expectations. Unique variations are minimized, and stable general features of behavior are maximized. Institutional roles are thus generalized configurations of socially expected individual behavior. They comprise the familiar social types of which a great number have been identified and described. Consider, for example, the politician, the rank-and-file worker, the bureaucratic office-holder, the college professor, the patriarchal father, or the labor leader.

Such social roles issue from the systematizing and fusing of sanctioned institutional norms. The social role defines the nature and limits of a set of behavioral expectations that accompany a particular institutional status and function. They come into being, become adjusted, conflict, alter, and disappear in the course of the life cycle of the institution of which they are integral parts. Thus, the number, nature, and types of such formal social roles are, in substantial measure, a function of institutional change.

Within this third conceptual perspective it is possible to come to grips with the problem of changing social roles in the South. First, it is necessary to review briefly the familiar panorama of institutional change within the region. From this vantage point it will be possible to disclose and to examine some of the changes of role types that embody and reflect these institutional changes. It will then be feasible to examine briefly the significance of some of the changes in race relations.

#### *Some Institutional Changes in the South*

Sociologists have captured and expressed the whole panorama of profound social change in the South by the concept of "the civilization process." This phenomenon refers to the progressive control of Southern people over both the physical and social environments by means of increasing rational and scientific understanding. The major regional correlates of the civilization process include extensive changes of social and economic relations, alterations of community organization, modifications of structures of class and race, and variations of traditional belief systems.

The proportion of rural population continues to decline as the urban percentage increases. At the same time an even greater proportion of the total population of the region is coming under the dominance of urban living. As

<sup>2</sup> See in this connection Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Sociology and the Field of Corrections* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1956), and F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939).

a consequence, the demographic and ecological aspects of community structure are becoming steadily more urban in basic character. Associated with these changes are important transformations of the institutional structure of the region.

Industry is replacing agriculture at an accelerating rate as the major economic activity. In the urban industrial climate of social life, the previously informal understandings between workers and employers are giving way to formal associational contracts. Many other formerly personal economic relations are becoming formal and explicit, illustrated in social security protection for superannuated household servants and agricultural workers, in installment contracts for time-payment purchases, and in voluntary payroll deductions for contributions and insurance premiums.

With the transition from agriculture to industry, control of the regional power structure moves from the "landed gentry" to the industrial owners. In the Atlantic and Gulf coastal states the balance of regional power is shifting from the rural tidewater section to the industrial piedmont areas. The reins of control are changing from the hands of the regionally old families to those of the new financiers and absentee corporations. Both the mood and the manner of control are losing the quality of intimacy and paternalism and are becoming rationalistic and impersonal.

Furthermore, the structure and control of the region's institutional apparatus are becoming increasingly centralized. This trend, under way for a number of years, is evident in industry and business, government, and voluntary organizations. Consider, for example, the establishment of state and regional branches of leading industrial corporations, chain stores, national labor unions, and transportation and communications systems. The trend is further evidenced in the spread to the South of national nonprofit service, welfare, and religious agencies. Centralization of institutional structure is also being achieved through reconciliation of ancient differences between Southern branches and some of the religious denominations throughout the rest of the nation.

The centrally organized and controlled state system of public education is an indigenous feature of the regional institutional structure. Compliance with provisions of the Social Security Act fostered centralization of state systems of public welfare. Moreover, the expansion of services of the federal government, the poverty of some local communities, and the growing demand for improved public facilities and services are further accentuating this trend toward centralization of political institutions.

These transformations of the regional institutional apparatus are exerting a telling influence upon the traditional Southern family. Far-reaching modi-

fications of member roles and the manner of their systematization are in process. Family interests tend to become individualized, with the result that primary solidarity and intimate family relations are seriously weakened. The closely integrated, patriarchal, and stable rural family type is disappearing with the rise to dominance of the associational type of unstable, equalitarian urban family system. Meanwhile, family experience tends to reflect and to support the trends of change that issue from other phases of the region's institutional structure.

And, finally, there is the multi-sided attack upon racial segregation and discrimination. One major dimension of this phase of change is embodied, of course, in the series of federal court actions that culminated with the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court prohibiting public-school segregation. Many voluntary organizations and business concerns have abandoned the practice of racial segregation of their own accord. Alterations of the institutional structures of race relations appear to be tied up with the civilization process in the region.

### *Some Changing Social Roles*

This broad matrix of institutional change is reflected in profound alteration of the role configurations of expected individual behavior. Space prohibits a detailed catalogue and analysis of all the significant variations of the institutional roles that have occurred and are still occurring. All that can be attempted is a brief sketch of some of the more significant modifications of role types that embody and reflect the changes of institutional structure.

1. Attention has already been called to the dwindling number, power, and prestige of the old credit merchants, the exploitative and paternalistic big farmers and millowners, and the regionally old and prestigious families. In the piedmont and inland cities there has emerged a small regionally aloof and powerful industrial owner-class. Many from this class are absentee owners, or at least latter-day fugitives from the South. This small group of owners and controllers functions within the national and international economic and social stratosphere, so to speak. They maintain economic ties with such financial centers as New York and Chicago and participate in the international social life of the Four Hundred at the famous wintering and watering spots of three continents. They exert economic, political, and social control in the region through sectionally prominent and well-known representatives.

The base of the changing Southern economy rests upon some new socio-economic types. Transformation of the region's inefficient one-crop system tends to favor a new type of agricultural worker and operator. There are still

small-farm owners, tenants, and sharecroppers, but instead of their being continuously in debt to the credit merchant or the plantation commissary, they are mortgaged to the finance company for an expensive automobile, a television set, and a variety of kitchen and farm appliances of which their fathers never dreamed. When they run out of ready cash, they can seek work in a nearby industrial plant. They are consumers in the new mass market where newness is essential and where economic relations are impersonal and contractual.

Industrialization and urbanization are producing a new type of secular, rationalistic, and self-conscious worker. This new city worker is altering the class structure of the Southern city and the beliefs of the urban upper classes. He joins the new industrial labor unions. He is frequently in the new mass market, often on a time-payment basis, for a great variety of goods and services. He buys many new appliances for his home, the services of doctors and lawyers for his family, and even a college education for his children. His outlook on the world and his way of living are powerfully influenced by television, the time clock, the factory and machine, the pay check, labor-union ideology, and the modern city. He comes to conceive of himself as distinct from, and hostile to, his employer. He identifies himself with other workers in his union, his industry, and his station in life rather than with "Southern folks." This new industrial worker is isolated, crowd-minded, insecure, and aggressive, and is becoming accustomed to mass participation. He comprises the larger part of the television audience, the baseball crowd, the labor union, the independent voter, the bargain-day customer, the comic-strip reader, and the movie audience.

Issuing directly from economic change are two types of middle-class roles. The numerous new business and industrial establishments and their top managerial personnel exist and operate in a competitive and highly rationalized consumers' economy. This form of organization and operation was largely unknown to the old-style Southern businessman, planter, or trader, whose mercantile enterprise was based upon a surplus labor supply that was controlled by credit and impervious alike to the imperatives of efficiency and the preferences of local consumers. These new managers and technical personnel frequently are Northern city individuals by birth or by specialized training and outlook. They are more efficiency-minded, more specialized, and more rationally or scientifically oriented than their economic predecessors. Regarding their reaction to the region and its ways, N. J. Demerath says:

While some seek to gain acceptance by conforming to the traditional political and social views of the conservative or reactionary whites, many of the new managers and owners are non-conformists. Many of them have been sent to the South by

their companies or by the government. They do not plan to stay indefinitely and are not greatly concerned about being accepted by the old Southern elites.<sup>3</sup>

It is reported in many localities that while they fail to sympathize with racial prejudice against the Negro, they tend to be anti-Semitic. In some Southern cities, members of the new middle class, either from necessity or by preference, establish their own "social set" and equip it with country club and the other apparatus of elegant living.

At the same time, the professional middle class has grown in size, independence, and outlook. Statistics show that the proportion of Southern workers engaged in tertiary—roughly middle class—occupations has been growing rapidly in recent years.<sup>4</sup> The expanding professional middle class finds a rapidly growing market for its goods and services among the new working classes, urban or agricultural. And since members of this class now have a ready market among the new Southern workers for their skills and services, the new professional middle-class persons need no longer kowtow as the deferential servants of the old and declining upper-class families. In various ways, therefore, the white-collar classes are displaying an independence of tradition and control that was rare in the Southern city of the recent past.

2. Many circumstances point to the emergence of the "mass" type of individual in the "new South." In this connection, regional change has three crucial consequences. First, the individual, either urban or rural, is increasingly subjected to the national ubiquitous and pervasive process of mass communication. He tends more and more to live the traditional Southern way of life in the mass American manner. Second, the individual becomes more and more isolated from identification in the stable, inclusive primary groups and institutions of the old and disappearing sectional South. He emerges as a discrete, independent, rationalistic, and self-directed creature. And third, the new regional individual is beginning to participate directly as a rationalistic and self-conscious unit in the emerging mass patterns of social action. Whether farmer, industrial worker, middle-class person, or minority-group member, the new individual in the new South is growing independent, mass-minded, and capable of direct social action on a wide range of fronts.

Under these evolving circumstances, the individual must become capable of entering into many different and changing situations of mass experience. He therefore tends to develop a galaxy of novel segmental social roles, or

<sup>3</sup> "Desegregation Education and North Carolina," unpublished paper read at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Negro College Conference, Raleigh, November 16, 1955.

<sup>4</sup> See R. B. Vance and N. J. Demerath, *The Urban South* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1954).



specialized social functions. New status categories correspond to the significant features of the segmental roles. In this way individuals of whatever traditional station in life and cultural subgroup can be absorbed into the rapidly changing and indefinitely expansible mass social system.

There are appropriate names for the more common role-status configurations. In the new South, people speak of workers, fans, tourists, shoppers, spectators, readers, customers, voters, followers, consumers, subscribers, registrants, and so on. The term "fan," for instance, refers to a general status that includes all kinds of persons who wax enthusiastic about such features of mass culture as professional athletics, "hi fi," progressive jazz, or detective stories. Fans—of whatever variety—occupy a place and play a part in the new South that is characteristically different from that of workers, consumers, or tourists, say. Little essential distinction is drawn between the rich and the poor, the educated and the unlettered, the old and the young, or between men and women.

In the aggregate, the individuals who occupy these new categorical statuses and perform these new specialized roles comprise a new regional type. Creature and creator of change, regional mass man is more enveloped in the national social stratosphere than immersed in the regional substratum. This new role type is isolated, independent, specialized, directly active, and, above all, significantly American, rather than "Southern," in outlook.

3. Within this general context of regional change, the significance and features of the so-called "new Negro" become evident. With urbanization, change of the occupational structure, and alteration of the structure of racial relations, Negroes in substantial numbers are entering a world of widened individual experience and expectations. Such changes tend to accentuate the resentment against caste limitations by resistance and aggression. Racial militancy has become an esteemed group value. Its transmission, glorification, and inculcation are fostered by organized agencies. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Negro press are leaders in this new orientation. The Negroes in the ranks and leadership of labor unions, in responsible positions of government, attending classes in the universities of border and Southern states, and residing in homes in formerly segregated areas are exemplars of the new Negro. The traits that distinguish this role type, however, are in reality not new. The newness seems rather to inhere in the refusal to conceal, repress, or compromise the spirit of militancy and resistance that has characterized some Negroes in all stations throughout our national history. Traditionally only the leaders were militant. Frederick Douglass and W. E. B. DuBois are cases in point. The masses were oriented toward compromise and accommodation to the strictures of the racial caste system. Booker T. Washington is the symbol of this



traditional orientation. In the ebb and flow of racial change, the spirit of compromise and accommodation is being curtailed and the orientation toward militancy is being accentuated and glorified. Nowadays the personalities of ordinary Negroes include the traits of militancy, aggression, and resistance formerly restricted to the dramatic and celebrated leaders.

In the course of regional change Negroes have become heir to many (for them) new and different statuses and roles. The personalities that emerge from the shaping of behavior under such changing circumstances are in fact new. They symbolize and evidence the shifting areas of interracial contact and tension, since they reflect changes in the traditional pattern of ethnic caste stratification. In the space remaining it is possible to do nothing more than enumerate some of the manifestations and dimensions of this new regional role type.

With particular reference to the consequences of integration, Hylan Lewis and Mozell Hill have captured a significant dimension of newness in the emergent Negro middle class with the picturesque phrase "*arrivestes*." Thus they write:

Participation on a basis of merit means not only that a wider range of callings is open to Negroes but also that many Negroes are upgraded to higher skill classifications and to unique (to the Negro community) and more prestigious positions or colleague relationships. This new basis for ranking is reenforced by generally increased income which makes possible for new groups the indulgence of living and leisure-time tastes on levels—and thanks in part to desegregation—in places hitherto not accessible. A premium tends to be placed on achievement and behavior that represent breaks with the offerings and norms of the meager and restricted Negro community. To the extent that this behavior is new and to the extent that significant other areas of life are still restricted or 'racial,' it and the *arrivestes* who practice it may have a feverish and exaggerated quality.<sup>5</sup>

In further analysis, Lewis and Hill identify a type of marginality that characterizes the new Negro. Of this dimension of personality they write:

Segmental desegregation tends to produce a new type of marginal person. This person is in some ways a counterpart of the hybrid institution mentioned earlier that operates with reference to special or limited interests in both Negro and white communities. It is increasingly common for both Negroes and whites to play many pluralistic roles inside and outside the uneven color line. As individuals move more easily from partially or almost completely segregated to less or non-segregated orders, there need be no consistency in role or context in residential

<sup>5</sup> Hylan Lewis and Mozell Hill, "Desegregation, Integration, and the Negro Community," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 304 (March, 1956), p. 122.

areas, school, church, assembly line, or store, business or profession, public office, leisure-time activities, intimate associates. . . .<sup>6</sup>

In urban communities of the region Negroes in increasing numbers are being subjected to the mass processes of isolation, communication, and direct participation that were mentioned above. They respond by entering the categorical statuses and specialized social roles that characterize mass living in the new and emergent South. Thus the new Negro is recognized as a consumer market, a part of fandom, and a significant sector of television and radio audiences. Writing in this vein, Lewis and Hill observe, in part:

A significant clue to change is the fact that the most active organized and systematic current interest in the character, tastes, motivations, and expectations of the Negro is that of the market researchers. In their efforts to exploit consumer demand in the Negro community, they are actually creating a "Negro market" or reenforcing the myth. The Negro market does not represent a demand for special goods or services but rather an underrated demand for conventional and quality goods and services.<sup>7</sup>

But caste proscriptions still prevent Negroes from participating in some of the status-role configurations of the new Southern mass society. One accommodation to this situation is the creation and performance of a series of mass racial participation roles. Among the more familiar types are Negro block voters, secular associational members, and direct-action movement participants. Within this perspective it becomes possible to assess the meaning and portent of such phenomena as widespread political action; the large and growing membership of the NAACP; and the "spontaneous," grass-roots boycotts in Montgomery, Alabama; and Orangeburg, South Carolina. Other things being equal and change continuing in the present trend, we may expect such phenomena to increase in number and magnitude, thereby drawing greater numbers of Negroes directly and effectively into the economic, political, and social life of the Southern region.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

# Some Observations on the Pragmatism of the Left and the Right

STEVE WORTH  
UNIVERSITY OF WICHITA

AMERICANS always have exhibited an aggressive desire to be free of entangling metaphysical systems. Neither theory in general nor political theory in particular has been attractive to the American political, economic, or intellectual communities. The "practical" man is an object of pride; the philosophic man is a target for indulgent ridicule.

There are some who would object to the foregoing statements. They would offer the solid impact of pragmatism in American economic practice and educational doctrine as evidence of a widely accepted national philosophy. If pragmatism can be counted as a philosophy, then the exception must be granted. However, pragmatism might more logically be conceived of as a method, a process, or a declaration of an ideological void, in short, as an absence, if not the antithesis, of a philosophy.

Even American judicial theory—which in the past has been as close an approximation to a political theory as American scholarship has produced—has been reduced, under the press of present political tensions, to a special kind of pragmatism. This has been particularly true where the court has been concerned with questions of individual liberty and public power. It has been suggested that the conflict between social policy and individual rights is a meaningless construct within which to discuss the question of individual liberty, inasmuch as individual rights are, by their nature, socially derived. However, if society looks on individual liberty as merely a doctrine of social utility, then individual freedom becomes not only socially derived but socially defined—which is precisely the logical consequence of the arguments of the new conservatives, and precisely the justification for legislative restrictions on freedom of expression and political association. The consequences of this view, then, represent the antithesis of the constitutional dichotomy. In its classic form, this dichotomy consists of rights which existed prior to government and which presumably live outside the governmental purview on the one hand; on the other are socially creative powers that are collectively formulated and politically executed.

This concept is admittedly an abstraction, whose only strength comes from its conceptual force in the minds of the citizenry. It is this very fact which makes an absolute philosophy so imperative in times when the abstraction is threatened by a pragmatic resolution of the most pressing political problem—in our case, national security. If liberty is an *absolute* value, then it is valuable at all times, irrespective of the external conditions. The courts have evolved a kind of judicial pragmatism that enables them to decide when liberty is valuable and when it is not. According to this formula, they decide when conditions are "normal" (and traditional individual rights may be protected by law against the State), and when conditions are "exceptional" (and liberty must be suspended and public opinion legalized in order to "preserve" liberty from powerful internal subversion or external threat).

There is no contention here that constitutionalism need always rely on judicial creativity for an important part of the evolution of political ideology everywhere in the world at all times. It is suggested, however, that in the American political society it has played such a role. The recent evolution from a restrictive to a permissive grant of power to the legislature in the area of individual freedom and political association is a current and unfortunate example of this judicial creativity. The positivist tendencies of our legislative assemblies, together with the very unhistoric basis of our society and the untraditional foundation of our political machinery, seem to encourage but little self-restraint on "the omniscient people." Thus while the people with more historical perception and a higher level of awareness of the abstractions inherent in constitutionalism might preserve the distinction between State and society in a less formalistic way, it is unlikely that individual self-restraint would work in the American socio-political culture.

The sum total of contemporary judicial pragmatism seems to be a capitulation to the doctrine of political sovereignty and a departure from the doctrine of constitutional supremacy. This is compatible with the highly temporal, external criteria that Dewey calls the "critique of social satisfaction"—an obscure term for "public opinion."

Why, then, if pragmatism has sufficed in lieu of a philosophy of government, is American political society being challenged to recast its political thought in a more systematic mold? Perhaps part of the explanation for some of the concern with the state of American political thought stems from the revolutionary nature of our times. In other, simpler times, the demands of pragmatism were consistent with, or at least did not interfere with, the larger issues, such as the relationship of man to the State. To an increasing degree, the norms by which individual thought and action are evaluated have become political. The reason for this is obvious: normalcy, being

socially derived, tends to be defined in terms of "nationalism" in time of international stress.

Where pragmatism might have sufficed as a temporary expedient for the solution of problems that were primarily economic, it does not meet the need of a society that has become primarily politically oriented. This orientation began to accelerate during the Second World War, when the United States citizen was invited to participate in a national effort which tended to mold him and his fellows into a total governmental pattern of existence. The pragmatic philosophy that had served well enough before the war dealt mainly with economic dislocations arising from the Depression. As a tool for dealing with economic problems, pragmatism is eminently satisfactory, since the individual citizen can judge its success or failure in terms of material rewards or economic satisfactions. When the criteria of satisfaction are economic, the individual experiences no frustrations in his attempt to judge between alternatives, for each individual is qualified to decide whether or not the results represent the closest approximation to his appetitive desires. Whether or not he is wrong in his judgment makes no difference. His contentment is measured by his own individual standard of economic want and is not based on any abstract relationship between himself and the State.

During the actual period of armed conflict, pragmatism continued to serve the nation admirably, since the philosophy of "what works is right" is tailor-made for dealing with a wartime enemy, and the battle cry of "liberty and democracy,"<sup>1</sup> plus the sacrifices involved, satisfied the spiritual demands of the citizenry. But when the main concerns move over into the area of international peace, where long-term solutions involve ideological conflict, pragmatism can be a frustrating methodology. Some of the gaudiest political phenomena of recent years have been direct outgrowths of the mass frustrations engendered by the application of this methodology.

In a cold war of ideas, results cannot be judged by individuals on the basis

<sup>1</sup> The term "democracy," as it is used in this paper, means "constitutional democracy," with the implication that effective institutional restraints must be placed on the majority in order to protect the machinery of change. If the reader infers that the author feels that conservatives herein described are less dedicated to this principle than are the contemporary liberals, the inference is justified. This lack of dedication is inherent in the nature of the conservative's concern today. The nature of the problems of internal security and/or intellectual, political, and moral subversion which, it is suggested here, provide the central theme of the conservative's concern, seduces him from the doctrine of limited government that was so politically (and financially) beguiling in the case of *Lochner v. New York*, in the executive restraint of Herbert Hoover, and the judicial sermons of Stephen J. Field. It is possible to argue that two decades ago the roles were reversed, with the liberals applauding the emergence of the new leviathan.

of personal satisfactions; they must be evaluated against a national philosophy that defines in substantive terms a reasonably acceptable image of the proper relationship between man and the State—a philosophy with enough substance to stand alone, not one merely shored up by a problem.

When the primary concern of the people is internal security, and when the threat to their security is military rather than economic, the dangers to the constitutional order are much graver than they are in a mere depression crisis. This is particularly true when pragmatism (or any other methodology that repudiates philosophic values) is the dominant conceptual tool. The resolution of economic problems has, as its critique of social satisfaction, an economic formula or a level of consumption. The people may be satisfied with varying degrees of consumption, but in no case are the people asked to give their opinions on the rightness of the tools of change. Modern war as a threat to individual security encompasses more than the possibility of armed invasion. It involves (or at least North Americans feel that it involves) the possibility of subversive threats to "the American way of life." Now whereas one might satisfy the economic or purely appetitive desires of a people on the basis of a shifting and relativistic scale of economic values without doing damage to the constitutional order, a constitutional society *cannot* invite the people to designate areas of subversive and unacceptable doctrine without repudiating what is possibly the most important single absolute value in constitutional government—that the right of individual free expression is outside the range of majority (or legislative) determination. Pragmatism, applied as a means of solving such problems, subjects to capricious tampering the constitutional relationship of the individual to his agent (the government). If, as seems to be the case in America today, the public lacks a substantive philosophy concerning these relationships, then the tampering may go so deep as to unbalance or even to destroy the constitutional order. It is then that, as Walter Lippmann puts it, "despotism and anarchy prevail."<sup>2</sup>

Nor is the need for a substantive philosophy reduced by the continued vast mobilization of our day. Indeed, the more people who come within the purview of increased governmentalization, the greater the need for a philosophy that takes frank recognition of this new fact of American life.

Without some standard of conduct and without some reasonable ideology, a society laboring under the double burden of tension and mobilization tends to demand at least the appearance of an ideology. Mobilization and tension aggravate the conflicts between individual wills and national interests, and, lacking some substantial philosophical measuring stick, the public accepts

<sup>2</sup> *The Public Philosophy* (Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1955), p. 167.



whatever formalistic substitute satisfies the need for a resolution of these conflicts.

The new conservatism bases its claim to rightness on its rejection of what its exponents call the shallow, valueless practicality of the liberal. Having made this claim, the conservatives obviously cannot admit the pragmatism of their own system. It is this aura of all-inclusiveness about the new conservatism which, when properly symbolized, has given it its strength. Any admission of pragmatism, then, would rob their system of both the claim and appearance of completeness and would reveal its lack of solid ideological content.

One further compelling reason for an earnest search to replace the shopworn pragmatism of both the Left and the Right is the increased role of group activity in American society. This *increased* group action, whether for good or bad, is a reality of modern life and introduces the possibility of *decreased* rationality. This decline of rationality arising from the growth of group situations seems to parallel the decline in individual responsibility that group action necessarily involves.<sup>3</sup> A great number of the new conservative philosophers simply ignore the realities of modern society that nurture this group behavior, while the liberals tend to pretend that group action can be judged by standards of individual morality, ignoring the corollary loss of individual responsibility. It may well be one of the paradoxes of American life, as yet unrecognized, that the United States has developed many of the manifestations of a classless society without the machinations of a class revolution. It may further develop that this process has been hastened by the requirements of conformance created by an overstressed attack on the Marxian philosophy of a classless society.

The result of the nature of the conflict between individual will and government power is that the question of sovereignty is being constantly raised but never quite recognized by either the public or its political and ideological leaders. Any new public philosophy must face squarely the question of whether or not a valid distinction does exist between constitutional sovereignty and law-making sovereignty.

The general public is unaware of any distinction in a hierarchy of law. As a test, for instance, I asked a group of one hundred second- and third-year students the question, "How do you distinguish between constitutional democracy and majoritarian democracy?" Only five of the hundred could discern any meaning in the term "constitutional democracy." The majority of answers indicated that the legislative organs of government are free to enact legislation of any kind, so long as "it is what the people want." The

<sup>3</sup> Emil Lederer, *State of the Masses* (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1940), pp. 26-29.

equating of political sovereignty with constitutional sovereignty, or vice versa, has served the pragmatism of both the Left and the Right—the Left with respect to economic problems during the 1930's and the Right with respect to internal-security problems during the 1950's.

The remainder of this paper will attempt to show some of the reasons why neither the liberalism of twenty years ago nor the new conservatism of today provides a satisfactory basis for a democratic society in a period characterized by governmentalization, tensions, frustrations, and conformity. It will also attempt to show that the influence of such nineteenth-century philosophers as Bentham and Austin, who believed that the improvement of society lay in the creative powers of legislatures and the repudiation of abstractions, has been felt by both Left and Right.

### *Pragmatism and the Liberal*

If the liberal did not actually create the political man, at least it was he who in this century justified the utilization of government as a creator of public good. Thus it was the twentieth-century liberal who elevated the importance of politics and, certainly to some extent, made the political man a respectable member of society—destroying, in the process, the myth of the exploiting politician and substituting the image of the public man with a concern for human welfare. In doing this the liberal, out of humanitarian motives, successfully broadened the range of governmental interests and, however unconsciously, engendered the new political myth that public welfare has broad prerogatives over individual rights, irrespective of any counter claims of abstract law.

Perhaps part of the reason why the liberalism of twenty years ago stands bankrupt before the problems of the mid-twentieth century is the fact that the movement which started as a humanitarian program succeeded too well. In succeeding, it assimilated the materialism—and the concomitant inflexibility that comes with economic determinism—which had caused the demise of the old conservative philosophy in 1930. One example of this is the success of the liberal program in creating statutory "rights" that were broadly applied and subsequently richly rewarding to American labor. A large part of American labor, recognized as the most articulate and politically persuasive heir of the New Deal era, speaks of the "rights" of collective bargaining in as inflexible and dogmatic terms as the philosophers of conservatism speak of corporate "rights."

Among the more severe criticisms of American liberalism might be the charge that it never took time from its economic busywork to offer more than a patchwork philosophy. Thus, not only could New Deal liberalism expect to die with the Depression, but it could offer no ideological defense

against the present-day critics of liberalism who have molded their own special kind of pragmatism and, ironically, have utilized all the machinery of state (including mass mobilization and manipulation of public opinion) created by the liberals during their productive period.

Whereas most of the practitioners of liberalism have regarded theorizing or the necessity for philosophic consistency merely as a useless affectation, some academic liberals have regarded consideration of such moral issues as constitutional rights or protection of minorities as pernicious and outdated sentimentality.<sup>4</sup> Other academic liberals, though not specifically rejecting the concept of rights, have gone far toward a practical repudiation of the concept by denying the historical role of the courts in protecting these constitutional guarantees, generally on the premise that the courts are unresponsive to popular will and hence represent an undemocratic and (to these liberals) an unwelcome intrusion into American political society.<sup>5</sup>

Willmoore Kendall has argued that "you don't have democracy if you have a Supreme Court armed with a Bill of Rights that forbids the majority to do certain things."<sup>6</sup> Actually it is probable that the majority of academic liberals, now ten years removed from the full flush of enthusiastic confidence in the continuous and unfailing rightness of the majoritarian position, no longer include the denial of individual rights as an important part of their concept of democracy. The removal or de-emphasis of the concept, however, does not constitute a drastic enough revision of the liberal position to correct its substantive deficiencies in comparison with today's problems. Present-day conservatives recognize the political attractiveness of the doctrine and are now employing the power of the whole community in their fight against "political subversion" with all the happy enthusiasm manifested twenty years ago by the liberals in *their* fight against "vested interests."

Modern liberalism might justifiably be accused of an excessive faith in reason and hence an excessive confidence in legal positivism as the sole and exclusive technique for the exorcising of evil from society. The legal positivism of the liberal position has tended to ignore tradition and to repudiate—most often without even examining—any concept of natural or moral law. Thus, the positivists of New Deal liberalism accepted the general proposition that law is a consequence of the formally enacted deliberations of every legally constituted legislative body. Liberals cannot be consistent and criticize an expression of contemporary reason, as set forth in the legal

<sup>4</sup> Francis W. Coker, "Some Present-Day Critics of Liberalism," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (March, 1953). Coker sums up J. Austin Ranney's conclusions that discussion of ethics and abstract morality has no place in political theory.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Steele Commager, *Majority Rule and Minority Rights* (New York, Peter Smith, 1943), *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Coker, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

decrees of contemporary legislatures, when that transposition of rational judgment into legal decree takes the form of ridding society of "dangerous thinkers."

Embracing legal positivism, the academic liberals, like Kendall, have supplied the conservative politicians in the legislatures with the philosophic justification for defining the proper limits of academic expression. Though the liberals may trace their philosophic kinship to Rousseau and the conservatives may trace theirs to Hobbes, their geneological paths have never been more than inches apart on the matter of absolutism of national sovereignty as opposed to constitutional sovereignty. The sovereignty of the general will, as against the Hobbesian concept of sovereignty as requiring a single determinate source of political authority, does not represent a meaningful distinction in the modern nation-state, with its high dependence upon public opinion and the necessity of a readily mobilized and highly unified citizenry. Although the conclusion may be purely impressionistic, it does seem that Rousseau's popularity is declining among academic liberals. There is still some tendency to regard him as a democrat, irrespective of the fact that his concept of sovereignty is antipathetic to the theory of democracy and destructive of its practice: "... the social pact gives the body politic an absolute power over all its members; and it is the same power which, when directed by the general will, bears, as I said, the name of sovereignty." And again "... the supreme authority can no more be modified than alienated; to limit it is to destroy it."<sup>7</sup>

Those reformist liberals who drew their instruction from utilitarian positivism are in very little better position to answer the challenge of the nationalistically oriented conservatism of 1955. For although these utilitarian liberals refuse to get involved in any of the misty romanticism of Rousseau's general will, the pragmatic basis of reform has left no room for statements of political faith or theoretical sanction and hence no grounds for a philosophic offense against the new pragmatism based on the nationalistically oriented critique of social satisfaction.

During the years of liberal ascendancy, the general public was conditioned to think in terms of the *practical effects* of particular policies rather than in terms of the conservation of essential traditions or the development of new and better external criteria by which to judge and evaluate the acts of government. Seldom did the liberal specify good or bad ends to be served by the particular enactment; and so, in essence, the utilitarianism of the pragmatic liberal became scarcely distinguishable from the system of the

<sup>7</sup> Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Social Contract*, trans. Henry J. Tozer (London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1920), Book II, Chap. iv, p. 125; Book III, Chap. xvi, p. 190.

majoritarian liberal, since the political success of both rested ultimately on the satisfaction of immediate needs rather than on an abstraction, such as a principle of government. These nonideological liberals conceived of government as resting merely on the will of numbers, and as Ernest Barker says, a democracy that "rests merely on the will of numbers, rests merely on force. If we keep the name and idea of democracy, we must find some other basis."<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the failure of twentieth-century liberalism to find an important place for individualism is symptomatic of the economic and political conditions in which the philosophy was incubated. The cult of the collective effort was perhaps both an economic necessity and a political asset in the 1930's, following as it did the dramatic breakdown of individual economic effort and the resultant wave of both popular and intellectual disillusionment with the philosophic concepts of Herbert Spencer, the judicial dogmatism of Justice Field, and the political homilies of Herbert Hoover.

Nor was the development of the role of individualism, necessary in any democratically conceived political doctrine, strengthened by the near-total mobilization for war which followed (or ended, depending on one's point of view) the economic dislocation. If individualism became then practically a synonym for self-interest and egoistic nonconformance, and thus was subordinated willy nilly during the 1930's in the name of social order and during the early 1940's in the name of successful mobilization against Nazism, it would be very surprising if a very large portion of the population would argue against the necessity of placing national unity above individual personal liberty during the new mobilization of the 1950's against internal subversion. But whatever the Jacobin aftereffects of the liberalism of the 1930's and 1940's, probably they cannot be ascribed to bad faith or disbelief in democracy, but rather to an unjustified faith in the creative efforts of the moment and to an excessive readiness to emphasize the importance of the whole rather than the interests of the component parts of society.

Without assuming the position of those who use liberals as academic whipping boys, it still might be fair to state what the condition of twentieth-century society has pronounced as evident: first, that the liberal doctrine does not meet the demands of mid-twentieth-century democratic society, and, second, that the legal positivism of the Depression years (whether it stemmed from a faith in majoritarian democracy or from a confidence in the admittedly more temporal utilitarianism), coupled with what Walter Lipp-

<sup>8</sup> *Reflections on Government* (London, Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 26.



mann calls the democratization of foreign policy<sup>9</sup> and continued vast mobilization under conditions of near-war, has created a conservative antithesis which is being offered by some as a philosophy for our time.

### *Pragmatism and the Conservative*

Criticism of the liberal position by the conservatives has seldom been characterized by consistency. Critics from the Right have stigmatized liberalism as being both overly sentimental and scientific. The inconsistency is not so much a consequence of the error of the critics as it is an outgrowth of the nature of liberal development in American society, where sentimentality has often been the relativist's substitute for a system of values.

As indicated already, liberalism has been a patchwork pragmatism which assumed a number of different phases during different periods of our national development; but its failure cannot be laid to its inconsistency so much as to the essential lack of continuity throughout these developmental phases—the result of the absence of any values except temporal ones. Likewise, the new conservatism, for all its lofty pretensions to kinship with the aristocratic conservatism of Disraeli and Burke, has the same mark of pragmatism. American conservatism has shown as great a talent for pragmatic adaptation and economic utilitarianism as has liberalism. Witness, for instance, the genius of the American conservatives in converting the revolutionary doctrine of natural rights into a juristic idiom whose application was primarily noteworthy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a protection for corporate wealth.

The conservatives have, at times, been advocates of strong, centralized government. Indeed, the constitutional basis of the New Deal was the legacy of Federalist Justice John Marshall and his "conservative" concept of implied power. At other times they have been advocates of emasculated government à la the Herberts, Spencers, and Hoovers. The conservatives have been revolutionary (with John Adams), and antirevolutionary (with Daniel Webster); they have supported a strong executive (Alexander Hamilton), an omniscient Congress (with Senator McCarthy), and a weak executive (John Bricker); they have advocated states' rights (with James Byrnes), and they have opposed creativity in state legislatures (with Justice Peckhams).<sup>10</sup> In fact, there is no single consistent philosophic thread running through the history of American conservatism unless defense of economic privilege be considered a philosophy. This consistent defense of economic privilege by the conservatives may well account for, in a secondhand sort of way, the political successes that seem to grow out of the essentially

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45.



pedestrian new conservative philosophy. Actually, the number of those attracted to the new conservatism is not so much a measure of its success as a political philosophy as it is a measure of the success of yesterday's economic liberalism. Because of the liberal achievement in creating an exceptionally broad class of vested interests, the privileged class now encompasses a great portion of American society and tends to identify itself with the new conservatism for economic reasons. Thus the success of the new conservatism might accurately be said to measure the feeling of American society that the perfect order has been reached and must be conserved against any attack.

The new conservatism thus differs from the traditional English variety in a striking number of ways. First, as Peter Vierick (an avowed conservative) has pointed out, the new conservatism is anti-intellectual, whereas the conservatives of the eighteenth century had great confidence in the power of rationalism, and the conservatives of the nineteenth century had a high regard for the value of education. Moreover, the new American conservatism stems more directly from the plutocracy created by corporate enterprise than from landed wealth; hence, the new conservatism is not a champion of tradition, for tradition has no place in the creative business community of modern industrial society. But tradition, with its resultant demand for stewardship and social responsibility, was the basic justification for the conservatism of the English landed aristocracy.

The new conservatives seem to accept the idea of "will" as a sanction of law and are as avid legal positivists as those whose legal positivism they abjure, whereas conservatives of the landed variety relied on morals, tradition, and religion instead of "creative legislation." Today's conservatives, although rejecting the creative power of the State in such fields as public housing and health have not been at all reluctant to invoke the power of the State in order to protect mortgage-loan company investments and to regulate union labor; and most dramatically, the new conservative enlists the authority of the central government in order to control certain political groups, such as, for example, the Communist party. This utilization of legal positivism points up one further unbridgeable difference between the new conservatives and those groups with which they claim identity, namely, that the new conservatism tends to extend political tests to a wide variety of hitherto nonpolitical activity. In this respect, the new conservatism is more in tune with the Jacobin application of Rousseau than it is with Burke. Its preoccupation with the term "loyalty" follows the emphasis of Metternich and continental conservatism rather than the Lockean British variety.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See Henry A. Kissinger, "The Conservative Dilemma: Reflections on the Political Thought of Metternich," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (December, 1954).

Classic British conservatism has generally been closely allied with the tradition of the English common law and has been a "champion of this concrete conception of the Englishman's right" at law.<sup>12</sup> The new conservatism, however, expresses impatience with such procedural protections as the self-incrimination clause in the Fifth Amendment and, in general, opposes the extension of the rights in the Sixth Amendment into the area of the executive loyalty program. In this respect, then, the new conservatism takes on some of the revolutionary coloration of Cromwell and Napoleon. Consequently, it becomes a "high state" theory, which, if not advocating looking to the State for amelioration of economic hardship, does look to the State for definitions of political loyalty and for the determination of proper relationships between nongovernmental groups, individuals, and the "sovereign" State.

Thus, in its own particular field of emphasis the new conservatism is even more revolutionary than the New Deal liberalism that it seeks to succeed. For while preoccupation with legislative creativity in the economic sphere sets up a pattern of economic rights so different from that which formerly existed that it may properly be termed "revolutionary," the new conservatives attempt to use the State as an instrument of social and political control and as an enforcer of ideological orthodoxy incubates a revolution that would reshape not merely our economy but our entire concept of government. Peter Vierick, a "true" conservative as contrasted with a "new" conservative, in making this same observation characterizes the new conservatives as "the new American radicals."<sup>13</sup> One of the few American conservatives able to claim kinship with Wordsworth or Coleridge, Vierick has on numerous occasions cautioned American conservatism against abdicating its claim of privilege by adopting political expediency. In other words, the true conservatives, as contrasted with the new conservatives, can never use politics as a primary means of obtaining their goals because conservatism in its classical sense is never primarily political.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the new conservatism is consistent with its American lineage, though inconsistent with English conservatism in its adoption of the highly materialistic. In fact, it is difficult to find an exponent of the new conservatism in either political or academic life who does not return to the central theme of the essential rightness of eighteenth-century economic liberalism. The philosophy of Kirk, Manion, Buckley, and Colgrove from the academic world, or the political application of that philosophy by Governor J. Bracken Lee, of Utah, or any of twenty-five or so conservative Republican sena-

<sup>12</sup> R. J. White (ed.), *The Conservative Tradition* (London, Nicholas Kaye, 1950), p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> "The New American Radicals," *The Reporter* (December 30, 1954), pp. 41-43.

<sup>14</sup> Kissinger, *op. cit.*, p. 1018.

tors contains a balance of laissez-faire economic thought, along with its nationalism as a political doctrine and its apology for strong government in the area of "internal subversion."

The new conservatism has the outward appearance of a *Weltanschauung*, which might possibly be characterized as a synthesis of Hegelian nationalism, Jacksonian egalitarianism, and economic determination.<sup>15</sup> Without making any attempt to assess the strength or the effectiveness of the new conservatism, it may be concluded that the movement is highly compatible with the temper of the American mind in 1955, though it is far from consistent with the classical concept of constitutionalism on which British conservatism has laid such stress.

The frustrations of war and the subsequent absence of real peace, the incidence of betrayal, the collectivization of government with its accompanying emergence as a delineator of cultural norms, the theoretical decline of executive prerogative, the complete mobilization of the scientific world, and the less complete mobilization of the academic world, and the alleged necessity of "universal" and constant surveillance over private individuals—all add up to a condition receptive to the specific kind of pragmatism offered by the new conservatives. This new ideology, building on the political myth of the Great Conspiracy and proclaiming itself protector of the new widespread economic interests, seems to offer the kind of opiate needed to allay the frustrations forced on the citizenry by the relativism and admitted pragmatism of the liberal position.

The new conservatism, with its high degree of relativity and its pragmatism, offers what its apologists call a complete system of values, with a high moral and religious content. The contradiction implicit in the fact that the new conservatism depends on government rather than on the traditional modes of conservative redress does not seem to be apparent to its followers. Actually, the new conservatism is highly secular, despite its attempt at collective spirituality. And rather than rely on any deep-felt sense of moral righteousness in its position, it utilizes government freely as an impostor and enforcer of its own political values, an example of which is its use of the

<sup>15</sup> For the argument that American conservatism is a political interpretation of Marxism, see W. Hardy Wickwar, "Foundations of American Conservatism," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 41, No. 6 (December, 1947). Though the new conservatism cannot be called Marxist, since it differs in many fundamental respects, it does have a heavy content of economic determinism of the Manchester school. Vierick, perhaps more than any other conservative, is responsible for highlighting the heavy egalitarian emphasis professed by many of the new conservatives. For an unwitting recognition of the important role materialism plays in modern conservatism, see the discussion of Spencer, Judge Elbert H. Gary, and Herbert Hoover by Francis Graham Wilson, "Emergence of Modern Conservatism," in *The American Political Mind* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949), Chap. 13.

loyalty oath and of legislative committees for investigations. It is perhaps symptomatic of the period out of which the new conservatism has sprung that by many people (if not by most) this utilization of government merely represents the logical expression of the new substantive values that the conservatives offer, to replace the valueless pragmatism of liberalism. They fail to see it as simply a shifting of the *locus* of governmental regulation and power from the economic to the ideological level.

After some temporal successes, the new conservatism is foredoomed to the same bankrupt position in which liberalism flounders now. With a philosophy based on pragmatism and materialism, both the liberals and conservatives of today offer man nothing beyond the gratification of his appetitive desires. That such gratification is not enough is implied in the surface spirituality of the new conservatism. In spite of the appearance Americans give of putting materialism above all, a philosophy that caters exclusively to the appetites has always been found wanting, eventually.

A new political philosophy, based on the more highly evolved characteristics of man,<sup>16</sup> must ultimately succeed the secular conservatism and liberalism which hold the field today. If it does not, then our constitutional democracy, based on the highest spiritual values yet formalized in human government—individual dignity and freedom—has ceased to evolve, and something as yet only dimly discernible will take its place. It would seem at present, then, as though the majority of Americans are searching for a standard, a philosophy with some absolute content, against which can be measured the threat to our internal security and in the light of which the national behavior can make a more rational reaction to unorthodox political actions. Lacking the standards of a substantive philosophy against which to measure its own real danger, our citizenry has been panicked into allowing more and more areas of society to be "politicalized" by those who most loudly proclaim themselves "security watchdogs." In this atmosphere, Harry P. Cain's warning that we need to distinguish "between treason and heresy"<sup>17</sup> is both an admission that we have lost, as a nation, the power so to distinguish, and a plea for a new substantive philosophy to act as a touchstone.

<sup>16</sup> Lecomte du Noüy, *Human Destiny* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1947), p. 103 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Speech delivered in Spokane, Washington, January 15, 1955.

# The Price of Natural Gas

RICHARD J. GONZALEZ

DIRECTOR, HUMBLE OIL & REFINING COMPANY

THE AVERAGE PRICE of natural gas at the point of production has approximately doubled in the United States and tripled in Texas since 1945. This rise has brought the average field price back up to the level prevailing in 1922. It still leaves gas as the cheapest fuel at the point of production, selling on the average for about one-half the cost of bituminous coal at mines and one-third the cost of residual fuel oil at refineries for the same heat content. Regardless of the relative price, the recent advance has attracted considerable criticism.

It has been argued that the rise in gas prices proves that competition is not effective and that government regulation of the price at which producers sell gas to interstate pipelines is necessary in order to protect captive consumers against gouging. Economists will recognize that the conclusion does not follow from the premise, since price can rise rapidly and sharply even under conditions of perfect competition. The argument has a strong emotional appeal, however, and it was used effectively in the recent Congressional debate over a proposed amendment to the Natural Gas Act. This act, passed in 1938 to regulate interstate gas pipelines, specifically stated that its provisions should not apply to the production or gathering of natural gas, but its language was interpreted by the Supreme Court in 1954 to mean that the Federal Power Commission has authority to regulate the prices at which producers sell gas to interstate pipelines. The proposed amendment, which provided that gas producers were not to be subject to the type of utility regulation applicable to interstate pipelines, was passed by Congress in 1956 but vetoed by the President on the basis of extraneous circumstances apart from the merits of the bill. Indeed, the President stated that legislation conforming to the basic objectives of the bill is needed because the type of regulation of natural gas that producers require at present will discourage individual initiative and incentive to explore for and develop new sources of supply. The present circumstances create an important problem, not only for the producers affected but also for the nation as a whole, since natural gas now

NOTE.—This paper is a somewhat modified version of a talk delivered by the author before the Southwestern Social Science Association at San Antonio, Texas, on March 30, 1956.

TABLE 1  
Price Indexes for Major Fuels

	Wholesale Price Index (1947-49 = 100)				Consumer Price Index (1947-49 = 100)							
	Bitu- minous Coal	Pet. & Prods.	Nat. Gas	All Commod- ities	Bitu- minous Coal	Anthra- cite Coal	Gas Used for Space Heating	Nat. Gas for Other Heating			No. 2 Fuel Oil	All Items
								10	25	Therms		
1925	51.4	93.3	121.4	67.2								75.0
1930	47.7	60.4	115.9	56.1								71.4
1935	51.6	50.3	106.4	52.0	54.4	58.0	121.4	115.9	122.8		53.4	58.7
1940	52.0	49.0	97.7	51.1	57.1	59.0	104.3	117.2	121.6		58.6	59.9
1945	65.6	62.3	92.8	68.8	70.4	75.0	99.0	107.1	109.8		71.7	76.9
1950	105.5	103.7	98.2	103.1	112.1	112.5	101.6	97.5	101.8		105.1	102.8
1955	102.0	112.8	111.6	110.7	120.4	126.7	120.6	101.5	117.0		124.4	114.5
	+55.5	+81.1	+20.3	+60.9	+71.0	+68.9	+21.8	-5.2	+6.6		+73.5	+48.9

Change by percentage, 1945-55

Source: U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.



supplies one-fourth of the energy produced in the United States, instead of one-eighth as it did between 1938-45. This important problem should be decided on the basis of sound economics rather than of emotion or politics. An analysis and understanding of the fundamental forces of supply and demand affecting natural gas are essential to a proper solution of the problem.

### *Price Relations of Competitive Fuels*

The more rapid increase in the use of gas than of competing fuels has been due to its attractive price as well as its superiority as a fuel. Official government indexes of wholesale and retail prices show a smaller relative increase for gas than for other fuels since 1945. During the past ten years, the index of gas prices has increased at most about 20 per cent compared with gains of 50 to 80 per cent for other fuels (see Table 1). The rise in the price of other fuels has been an important factor affecting the demand for, and the field price of, natural gas in recent years.

One indication of the attractive price of natural gas is the rapid increase in the number of residential users. There were about twenty-two million residential consumers of natural gas at the end of 1955, more than twice as many as in 1945. Meanwhile, there was a sharp decrease in the number of customers for manufactured gas because local distributing utilities found that natural gas was cheaper and better. About fourteen million residences now use gas for space heating. Since space heating involves substantial expenditures for fuel, the large number of consumers using gas for this purpose suggests effective price competition as well as advantages for which a limited number of customers might be willing to pay a substantial premium. Analysis of the charges for fuels delivered to residential customers shows that heating is cheaper with natural gas than with coal or oil in many cities, including some in the heart of the coal-producing area. This is quite significant in view of the high distribution cost for gas incident to meeting peak demands for winter heating. In some cities, accounting for a small proportion of the gas consumption, the cost of gas to residential users is higher than the cost of coal or oil. This is likely to be the case particularly where natural gas has only recently been substituted for manufactured gas and there is an unusually large distribution cost. The fact that the distribution cost is high does not mean that the charge is unreasonable, for there are many circumstances involved in that question, but it does suggest that the complaint of consumers about the high price of gas in these cases may not be the result of the price paid for gas itself.

It is particularly important to note that the charges for delivery of fuels to residential customers cover three distinct items: (1) the fuel itself, (2) the transportation of the fuel from the point of production to the consum-

ing area, and (3) the distribution to the ultimate consumer. If every fuel-user were billed separately for the fuel itself and for the transportation and distribution charges in delivering it, there would no doubt be considerable surprise as to the relative role of the different items in the total and a much better understanding on the part of consumers that their charges for gas represent principally costs of transportation and distribution that are subject to utility regulation. On the average, utilities charge residential consumers about 85 cents per M c.f. for natural gas; about 10 to 15 per cent of this represents the average price paid for gas itself. The cost of transportation through large interstate pipelines varies with distance and load factor, but it is estimated to be about 1.5 cents per M c.f. per hundred miles for large lines with high load factors. Depending upon distance from the point of production, the interstate transportation may represent up to 30 cents per M c.f. The remainder of the residential bill for natural gas, which is more than half the total, is for distribution from the point at which it is received by a local utility.

Evidence of the competitive price of gas is also provided by increasing industrial consumption, particularly the use by utilities in the generation of electric power. These utilities are extremely alert to differences in the cost of fuels and are usually equipped to use whichever is cheapest. The largest use of gas by electric utilities continues to be in the Southwest near the producing areas, but increasing quantities of gas have been used by electric utilities in recent years in areas at considerable distance from production, particularly in the North Central states. The utility use of natural gas for generation of electric energy has more than tripled since the last war and is now at the rate of about a trillion cubic feet annually. As a result, the proportion of all electric energy generated by gas has more than doubled and is now about 17 per cent.

It will not be exactly a surprise to economists that in the market circumstances prevailing for alternate fuels since the war there should have been an increase in the price of natural gas at the point of production. Exceptional circumstances of great discoveries of new gas supplies at low cost, contrary to the trend evident for other fuels, would have been necessary to prevent a rise in the price of natural gas in the face of the tremendous increase in demand. Official government statistics again provide evidence on the competitive prices of mineral fuels at the point of production. As of 1955, a million British thermal units sold at the point of production for an average of 10 cents in the case of natural gas, 19 cents for bituminous coal, 39 cents for anthracite coal, and about 48 cents for crude oil. Even on new contracts, the average price for gas is less than for coal. Natural gas thus continues to be the cheapest fuel at the point of production despite a postwar increase

roughly parallel to that of oil. In the period from the passage of the Natural Gas Act in 1938 until 1954, during which there was no federal interference with the field price of natural gas, the cost per million B.T.U's of heat content increased about 5 cents for natural gas compared with 12 cents for bituminous coal, 24 cents for anthracite coal, and about 30 cents for crude oil. In Texas, the average price per million B.T.U's for natural gas at the well increased from about 2 cents in 1938 to 8 cents in 1955, a gain slightly greater than the national average in amount but much larger relatively because of the extremely low average price that prevailed for gas in Texas for about twenty-five years from 1925 to 1950 (see Table 2).

An understanding of the behavior of gas prices in the field requires analysis of the forces affecting the supply of gas, factors to be considered in the following section.

### *The Supply of Natural Gas*

Natural gas cannot be made; it must be discovered by exploration and drilling. Gas and oil exist in underground geologic traps, frequently associated together, but there is no way of knowing how many of these deposits exist, where they are located, or how much oil or gas they contain. We only know that petroleum hydrocarbons were deposited in sedimentary beds millions of years ago. These hydrocarbons in underground deposits are merely "neutral stuff," as so aptly stated by Erich Zimmermann, of no value to anyone. It is only by considerable ingenuity, effort, and expense that they can be discovered, developed, and converted into useful resources.

There is no direct method by which underground hydrocarbons can be located. Unfortunately, even the most expensive scientific methods of exploration give only imperfect clues as to the location of geological traps in which oil or gas or both might have accumulated. Only expensive drilling can determine whether commercial quantities of petroleum exist. Of the thousands of wells drilled annually in the search for new fields, only one in nine finds petroleum production. Even after production is found, about one-fourth of the wells drilled in development prove to be dry holes. In 1955, there were 21,500 dry holes and 35,180 producing wells drilled, indicating that the industry must expect to drill on the average nearly three dry holes for every five producing wells.

The inescapable difficulties in the search for oil and gas mean that the investment process is quite unlike that of public utilities or manufacturing firms. The standards of prudent investment are not applicable in petroleum exploration. What looks like a prudent investment for a well-defined geologic trap may prove to be a complete loss. Large expenditures may produce meager results on some ventures while in other cases excellent discoveries

TABLE 2  
Comparative Prices of United States Mineral Fuels at Point of Production

	Average Prices						Average Price per Million British Thermal Units (dollars)									
	Crude Oil (\$ per bbl.)		Bit. Coal (\$ per ton)		Pa. Anth. Coal		Natural Gas (¢ per M c.f.)		Crude Oil		Bit. Coal		Pa. Anth. Coal		Natural Gas	
U.S.	Texas	U.S.	Texas	U.S.	Texas	U.S.	Texas	U.S.	Texas	U.S.	Texas	U.S.	Texas	U.S.	Texas	
1925	1.68	1.81	2.04	5.30	9.4	5.2	0.29	0.31	0.08	0.21	0.09	0.05				
1930	1.19	0.99	1.70	5.11	7.6	3.6	0.21	0.17	0.06	0.20	0.07	0.03				
1935	0.97	0.94	1.77	4.03	5.8	2.1	0.17	0.16	0.07	0.16	0.05	0.02				
1940	1.02	1.00	1.91	3.99	4.5	1.8	0.18	0.17	0.07	0.16	0.04	0.02				
1945	1.22	1.21	3.06	5.90	4.9	2.6	0.21	0.21	0.12	0.23	0.05	0.02				
1950	2.51	2.59	4.84	8.90	6.5	4.7	0.43	0.45	0.18	0.35	0.06	0.04				
1955P*	2.77	2.84	5.00	10.00	10.7	9.0	0.48	0.49	0.19	0.39	0.10	0.08				

\* P=Preliminary.

Source: U. S. Bureau of Mines.

may be made at low cost with a small outlay. Consequently, the variation in costs among ventures is extremely large, far exceeding any range in costs expected in the normal investment process characteristic of manufacturing or utilities, where the cost of creating a certain capacity can be estimated in advance with reasonable accuracy. Furthermore, the accounting costs for the leases and wells in any producing field are only part of the true economic cost involved because of the inevitable losses inherent in the search for production.

The search for oil and gas is generally inseparable, although some areas are predominantly gas-producing, such as the San Juan basin of New Mexico. The development of oil and gas resources after they are located depends upon whether they appear commercial. Many gas reserves discovered in the past have not provided any useful production because their development was not commercial on the basis of the gas prices prevailing at the time. After development, oil and gas production are usually carried on together, in many cases from the same field. Therefore, the separate cost of oil or gas can be determined only on the basis of assumptions as to the allocation of joint costs.

Exploration and drilling by thousands of operators over many years have discovered and developed petroleum deposits in many areas of the United States. Large discoveries relative to demand were made in the period from about 1926 to about 1940, with the result that the ratio of proved reserves to production increased for both crude oil and natural gas. This development was accompanied by a downward trend in petroleum prices at the well. Since 1940, the rate of increase has been greater for demand and production than for proved reserves, causing a downward trend in the ratio of reserves to production (see Table 3). This trend has been quite sharp for natural gas since 1945. An active search for new supplies has made available large new supplies each year, but the demand has increased much more rapidly than the new supply.

At the beginning of 1955, proved reserves of natural gas in the United States were 212 trillion cubic feet, or about 22.8 times the marketed production and probably about 21 times the total production, including the gas flared from oil wells because economically feasible markets are not available. This compares with a ratio of reserves to production of over 30 during the period 1935-45. The significance of this development on the price of gas will become apparent upon consideration of how supply and demand operate in the market, and especially of the long-term contracts required by pipelines.

*The Structure of the Market for Gas*

On the supply side of the market, it is estimated that there are about eight thousand different operators producing natural gas in the United States. New firms are constantly entering the business, as there are no restrictions on entry and as small capital is sufficient to acquire a lease and drill a well. From an economic standpoint, the relative size of producers is more important than their number. The concentration of petroleum out-

TABLE 3

Estimated Proved Reserves and Production of Crude Oil and Natural Gas in the United States

	Crude Oil Million Barrels		Ratio of Crude Oil Reserves to Production	Natural Gas Trillion Cubic Feet		Ratio of Gas Reserves to Marketed Production*
	Estimated Proved Reserves January 1	Production		Estimated Proved Reserves January 1	Marketed Production*	
1925	5,300	764	6.9	23	1.2	19.2
1930	8,100	898	9.0	45	1.9	23.6
1935	12,500	997	12.5	62	1.9	32.5
1940	18,500	1,353	14.0	95	2.7	35.0
1945	19,800	1,714	12.1	134	3.9	34.4
1950	24,600	1,944	13.0	180	6.0	30.0
1955	29,600	2,400	12.5	212	9.3	22.8

\* Total production exceeds marketed production by about 10 per cent currently and as much as 20 per cent in earlier years because of gas flared. Consequently, the ratio of reserves to total withdrawals is lower than the ratio to marketed production.

Source: Reserve figures based on private estimates before the Second World War, estimates of the Petroleum Administration for Defense for 1945, and estimates of the American Petroleum Institute and American Gas Association since 1945.

put is low by comparison with most large industries. The largest firm owns less than 10 per cent of the domestic natural-gas reserves. The four largest firms supply 17 per cent of the output, the eight largest supply 28 per cent, the twenty largest supply 46 per cent, and the fifty largest supply 66 per cent. The concentration of national output is much higher in other mining industries except for bituminous coal, and in most important manufacturing industries. In the Texas market, which is the largest and most important, the four largest producers supply about 21 per cent of the output, the eight largest supply about 33 per cent, and the twenty largest supply about 55 per cent. These and other analyses of the principal producing areas will convince economists who investigate the record of the existence of effective competition which purchasers and sellers are aware of through their experience in bargaining over alternative transactions. The conclusion expressed as to the market for natural gas by Martin J. Lindahl, professor of econom-



ics at Dartmouth College, before the American Economic Association at its annual meeting on December 28, 1955, was as follows: "While by no means a perfect market, it would seem that workable competition can prevail in such a market in the absence of collusion. There seems to be no evidence of significant changes in the market structure in recent years which has weakened the competitive force."<sup>1</sup>

There is greater concentration on the demand side of the market for gas than in supply. The dominance of large pipelines is shown by the fact that in 1953 the 2,935 billion cubic feet of gas delivered by the four largest lines represented 35 per cent of the total marketed production and an even larger share of interstate shipments. Interstate pipelines can be built only under certificates of convenience and necessity issued by the Federal Power Commission. Consequently, they possess monopoly power in supplying gas to a particular area and are regulated as utilities, even though they are not common carriers but purchasers and sellers of gas.

To assure continuity of supplies and reduce risks, pipelines generally use twenty-year contracts for gas, thereby making the seller a captive. Under this system of purchases, the proportion of gas reserves committed to pipelines increases and the proportion available for current market negotiations decreases if requirements advance more rapidly than proved reserves. As interstate movements increased from one trillion to five trillion cubic feet annually in the past decade, the gas reserves held under contract by interstate pipelines to support these movements probably increased from at least 20 to 100 trillion cubic feet. These amounts would represent about 15 per cent of the proved reserves ten years ago and nearly 50 per cent currently. While the uncommitted supply remaining available for market has decreased, sufficiently large uncommitted reserves remain available to provide workable competition, owing to the development of large new supplies by many firms every year and to the fact that intrastate markets are usually supplied on relatively short-term contracts. Since requirements of interstate pipelines have continued to increase, it is not surprising that the initial field price on long-term contracts has advanced in many cases to a current range of 15 to 23 cents per M c.f. in Texas and Louisiana.

The negotiation of twenty-year contracts inevitably raises difficult problems as to price. The producer of petroleum is accustomed to selling oil at the market price prevailing at the time of delivery. He generally has a contract allowing the purchaser to take his production indefinitely, and may

<sup>1</sup> Economists who wish to learn more about the market will find a large amount of information in a 77-page analysis filed as an appendix to a brief presented by the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association to the Federal Power Commission in hearings on escalator and market-price clauses in gas-purchase contracts.

let him buy the oil for years, but the contract is based on current market prices and is subject to cancellation by the buyer or seller on short notice. If there were a quoted market for gas, comparable with posted prices for crude oil, producers would no doubt be willing to sell at the market price, provided sufficient competition existed among purchasers to offer some assurance that quoted prices would reflect market conditions. Unfortunately, there is no generally quoted market price for gas, and pipelines do not ordinarily allow the producer to cancel the contract after due notice.

Experience with contracts negotiated during the Depression at 2 and 3 cents per M c.f. (some of which are still in effect) and with rising costs and the declining value of the dollar made producers realize that fixed prices could be extremely onerous in long-term contracts. In return for committing their gas for twenty years under conditions indicating an upward trend in market prices, they sought agreement on higher average prices by means of fixed escalation at stated intervals or by means of price provisions designed to approximate market prices at the time of delivery. These latter provisions generally call for (1) escalation at stated intervals on the basis of the highest prices paid in the area by the buyer or by two or three large buyers in the same area, and (2) renegotiation of the price at a stated time, sometimes within stipulated limits above or below which the parties have the option to withdraw from the contract.

The criticism has been made that these escalation clauses can operate only to increase prices and never to lower prices and that they result in payment of the highest market price rather than the average. It is easy to see how the consumer would look with disfavor on these provisions even though he agreed that the reasonable current market price at the time of delivery should be paid to the producer. He is bound to feel that the highest prices represent something more than the current market price. In a steadily rising market, however, it is the highest prices that represent the latest transactions and most nearly reflect the current market. Both the buyers and sellers have generally felt that prices at which the contracts started were so low that there was no prospect of a decline in the general market over the life of the contract. In some cases, the buyers and sellers have agreed on the right of each to terminate the contract if the highest prices fall outside of certain specified range. In this case, if the buyer can secure supplies at less than the highest prices paid in preceding transactions he is free to cancel, and the seller can either agree to take the price offered or else seek another buyer if he thinks he can do better. This type of escape clause should meet most of the criticism about the operation of escalation clauses while still allowing buyers and sellers to agree on some formula designed to reflect changes in current market prices. It would be a simple enough matter for

buyers and sellers to agree on such escape clauses in the contracts of interstate pipelines if there is concern that some future decline in prices would mean that the present escalation clauses would not reflect the market at the time of delivery.

There seems to be some criticism of escalation clauses on the ground that they result in so-called "windfall" profits. This criticism appears to rest in large part on the assumption that the prices agreed upon without the benefit of escalation were reasonable and represented a return in keeping with the investment and risk. It overlooks the joint nature of gas and oil production which allowed gas to sell for many years for not much more than its direct costs. As the demand for gas increased more rapidly than that of oil, it was to be expected that the current price of gas would rise more rapidly than that of oil and that gas would make relatively more contribution to the joint costs. The price level that will balance the relative supply and demand of both oil and gas is the reasonable one, and the earlier price relation, which could not continue under strong demand pressure, cannot be considered the proper standard by which to judge current prices.

The charge of windfall profits is related to the belief that the business of producing petroleum is fabulously profitable. If this were so, the ease of entry into the business should mean that capital would be attracted into the business in amounts to result in a growth of reserves at a rate faster than demand. Instead, demand has increased faster than reserves, particularly for gas. The conclusion from this evidence is that investors have not considered the rate of return unusually attractive in relation to risks. Therefore, if demand continues to increase rapidly, it would seem that some further rise in prices may be necessary to stimulate investment enough to check the declining ratio of reserves to production.

The rapid rise in the field price of natural gas in recent years reflects what would be expected in the behavior of current market prices under the supply-and-demand conditions that have prevailed. It is not an unexpected development. Indeed, it could have been anticipated some years ago from an analysis of the market forces then in operation. At the Symposium on Gulf Coast Hydrocarbon Resources held in Houston on April 8, 1949, when the average price of gas being sold in Texas was 4.6 cents per M c.f., I stated that it was not unreasonable to expect that "within the next few years natural gas on the Gulf Coast will command a price of 15 cents to 20 cents a thousand cubic feet at wells." This conclusion was based on the fact that until prices reached at least this level, demand would continue to outrun supply because gas would undersell coal and oil in the large fuel markets of the East Coast. It was also apparent from the large amount of gas still being flared at the time that gas prices had not been sufficient to

cover even direct costs for gathering and compressing casinghead gas from many wells. Since the demand for natural gas was growing much more rapidly than that for oil, it seemed clear that the price of gas must rise in relation to that of oil in order to help balance the relative supply and demand of these joint products. It also seemed reasonable to expect that, as previously accumulated reserves were committed to new lines to the point where further requirements had to be met largely from new discoveries, gas prices would have to rise enough to bring the rate of gain in demand into balance with the growth in proved reserves. Finally, the anticipated level of prices was one that would still provide industrial users in the area with gas at a cost below that of alternative fuels and as cheap as the cost of bituminous coal at the mine.

The fact that gas has sold in the field at prices that allow it to undersell coal and oil in large areas of the United States constitutes further indirect evidence that the field price is competitively determined. If competition were not effective, one would hardly expect gas to undersell other fuels in view of the fact that its cleanliness and convenience would make many users willing to pay a premium rather than switch to an alternate. It does not follow, however, that the sale of gas at a premium over other fuels at some places or even in large areas would mean a lack of effective competition among gas producers. Despite effective competition among producers and attractive gas prices in the producing areas, the cost of transportation and distribution to some areas may be so high as to result in delivered prices for gas that are higher than for other fuels.

### *The Competitive Market Price of Gas*

The preceding discussion has indicated that the realistic economic approach to the market price for natural gas should be to allow current market prices to prevail as long as workable competition exists. Market prices bargained between willing buyers and sellers with real alternative opportunities are the best economic evidence of the just, fair, and reasonable price. Any other price will cause either shortage and discrimination among customers or surplus and unnecessary cost. Furthermore, since natural gas is a joint product with oil, any price lower than the competitive market would establish operates as a subsidy for gas consumers at the expense of the users of liquid fuels.

The function of price is to direct economic activity in such manner as to help balance supply and demand. Such a price is in the best interests of consumers since it provides the most efficient direction of economic activity. The FPC is already concerned about the use of gas in place of coal and in several cases has refused to allow the use of gas as boiler fuel because coal was

available for that purpose. If it pursues a policy of setting low prices of gas because of a desire to protect consumers against the normal operation of the market, it will encourage industrial uses of gas that would not otherwise exist and will find itself driven to an allocation of gas to favored customers by arbitrary standards of rationing because it does not allow price to direct supplies to the use that would normally prevail.

The best solution of the present situation is legislation such as the Harris-Fulbright bill, limiting the authority of the FPC to seeing that prices paid by interstate pipelines are determined by competition. In the interim, the best solution is for the FPC to use its discretion to allow and approve as just and reasonable prices that result from current competitive market conditions. In ascertaining reasonable market prices, the FPC must look beyond those paid in the recent past, for consideration of that standard alone will not be satisfactory in a dynamic situation except by mere chance.

The simplest economic measure as to whether the current market should be expected to move up or down will be found in the relation between the anticipated growth of requirements and the rate of development of new supplies. Now that reserves are sufficient to meet current requirements for only about twenty years, the rate of growth in demand and in proved reserves should be kept about the same by the influence of price on the use of gas and on the development of new supplies. If the rate of increase in demand for gas slows down to 5 per cent annually over the next five years, total production will increase from 10 trillion cubic feet in 1955 to 12.75 trillion cubic feet in 1960. The production during the five years would then be about 57 trillion cubic feet, and the required addition of 27.5 per cent to present reserves of 223 trillion cubic feet would be 61 trillion cubic feet. Apart from meeting some of the demands by importing gas from Canada or Mexico, this would mean development of new natural-gas resources through discoveries, extensions, and revisions of 118 trillion in the five years, or at the rate of about 24 trillion cubic feet annually. This rate of additions exceeds slightly the record new development of 22 trillion cubic feet in 1955 and is well above the average of around 17 trillion cubic feet over the past three or five years. In the absence of contrary evidence, it would appear that some modest further increase in price above the levels negotiated on recent contracts may be necessary to bring forth the desired supplies if the preceding assumptions prove correct. On the other hand, if demand were anticipated to increase only 3 per cent annually over the next five years, it would appear that the recent rate of development of new supplies might be about right, with the result that current prices might be expected to remain at about the levels negotiated in the recent past.

In the absence of freedom for buyers and sellers to negotiate prices, an



increasingly difficult problem will develop in regulating gas prices as time passes and less evidence is available of the price negotiated by bargaining between willing buyers and sellers with alternative opportunities. So long as the uncertainty exists that the FPC might apply to producers utility methods of regulation and set prices on the basis of costs of gas-producing leases only, there is bound to be preference for unregulated local intrastate markets to interstate markets. This may eventually provide a satisfactory solution for producers, but the answer may not satisfy consumers in other states who want increasing quantities of natural gas. The FPC itself, in a case concerning Panhandle Eastern Pipeline Company, stated that the ultimate public interest will be better served by permitting regulated pipelines to receive on their production a price reflecting the average market determined by arm's-length payments in the area than by regulating such production on a "rate-base" method applied on utility investments. There are even stronger reasons for relying upon the current market prices negotiated under conditions of workable competition as the proper standard for independent producers selling gas to interstate pipelines so long as they remain subject to regulation under the Natural Gas Act.

### *Conclusion*

Workable competition exists among suppliers of natural gas and is effective in determining reasonable field prices for gas. Although prices of natural gas in the field have increased sharply as a result of the economic forces affecting the market for fuels during the past ten years, there is considerable evidence of effective price competition among suppliers of natural gas. In these circumstances, competitively determined market prices are the reasonable prices that should prevail for the good of the economy. Any other level of prices will be artificial and will create difficult problems of shortage or surplus that can easily be avoided. The proper solution of the important natural-gas problem that has developed recently is to rely on market prices in the present period of confusion and to enact legislation designed to allow such market prices to prevail without regulation by government.



# Oligopolistic Equilibrium in the Retailing of Produce

LAWRENCE E. FOURAKER

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

IS THE AVERAGE BUYER of foodstuffs significantly influenced by the final digit of the price tag above the commodity being bought? Does he (or more likely she) feel that green beans at 29c per pound are a considerably better buy than green beans at 30c per pound? Or does the odd-cent price ending serve another purpose? Recently C. R. Brader, a graduate student at Pennsylvania State University, included the following table in a term report:

Retail Price Endings for Produce in Pittsburgh Chain Grocery Stores  
(six-month period)

Price endings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Per cent of frequency	.5	0	5.4	.5	25.2	0	1.7	.2	65.5	1.2

In conjunction with another investigation, seven chain-store grocery executives and their assistants were interviewed. These men were responsible for ordering and pricing produce in their organizations. During these interviews, the executives were asked to explain their preference for produce prices ending in "9." Six of those interviewed provided the customary "psychological" interpretation, which is that 39c, for example, gives the impression of a bargain; the customer is likely to feel that the price has been shaved from 40c, or even 50c.<sup>1</sup>

While this may in fact be the case, there are some dissenting viewpoints: (1) An executive in a major mail-order house maintained that their profits were neither increased nor lessened by rounding their odd-cent prices to the next highest figure.<sup>2</sup> (2) Another Pennsylvania State graduate student, John Early, constructed two sheets with thirty prices (associated with ab-

<sup>1</sup> H. H. Maynard and T. N. Beckman, *Principles of Marketing* (5th ed., New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1952), p. 656; C. F. Phillips, *Marketing by Manufacturers* (rev. ed., Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1946), p. 457; R. S. Vaile, E. T. Grether, and R. Cox, *Marketing in the American Economy* (New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1952), p. 452; P. D. Converse and H. W. Huegy, *The Elements of Marketing* (5th ed., New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952), p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ginzberg, "Customary Prices," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 26, p. 296.

stract items) on each sheet. One set of prices had endings in the same proportions as used in Brader's table. The other set of prices had endings equally proportioned from 0 through 9. The sum of the prices on the first sheet was equal to the sum of the prices on the second sheet. A total of 137 women were asked to indicate which store they thought was cheaper, or if there was no difference. The results are as follows: 46.7 per cent thought the store with the equally proportional price endings was cheaper; 31.4 per cent thought the store with the odd-cent price endings was cheaper; 21.9 per cent thought there was no difference. These differences are not statistically significant. (3) Many economists contend that a consumer's buying skill and acumen are in direct proportion to the frequency with which the object is purchased.<sup>3</sup> If this is correct, the customers of chain grocery stores are not likely to be misled by such a simple ruse as odd-cent pricing, for food items are purchased with great regularity and frequency.

The seventh of the executives interviewed suggested an explanation for the odd-cent price endings that is not to be found in standard texts on marketing. It was his contention that the customary preference for prices ending in 9 enables the industry to achieve price uniformity on many items. Thus, the trade, knowing approximately how much of a markup could be placed on different categories of produce items, would price their products approximately the same even in the absence of the odd-cent convention.

"Close," however, is not good enough in the pricing of produce. A price differential of a few cents may cause a substantial shift in customers, which is disastrous for an industry marketing a perishable product. But independent calculations, even though crude, can produce identical results if all entrepreneurs follow the rule of thumb of moving to the nearest price ending in 9 after their initial approximation (or the ending may be 5 for some items whose prices and margins are relatively low). This practice introduces an element of order into the chaos of an industry characterized by aggressive rivalry, low margins, perishable products, and perceptive customers.

The Trobriand people of Melanesia masked the trade between their islands with ceremonies based upon superstition.<sup>4</sup> There may be a counterpart in modern business practices that, though defended with poor logic, nevertheless perform necessary functions.

<sup>3</sup> G. J. Stigler, *The Theory of Price* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> B. Malinowski, "Traders of the Trobriands," *A Reader in General Anthropology*, ed. C. S. Coon (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1948), pp. 293-321.

# Book Reviews

*Edited by*

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

LEONARD D. WHITE (ed.): *The State of the Social Sciences*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956. 504 pages. \$6.00.

During November 10-12, 1955, the thirty-one papers of this symposium were presented in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Social Science Research Building at the University of Chicago. The volume reflects the state of the social sciences today only in that every department of the social sciences is represented among the authors. Only three of the papers attempt to summarize the development and present status of some specialized field: Lasswell on the impact of psychoanalytic thinking on the social sciences; Hauser on urban ecology; and Berelson on the study of public opinion. These three papers are the most useful in the volume. A few of the authors systematically summarize some aspect of their own research: Kluckhohn on a comparison of value-emphases in five cultures; Bales, Horwitz, and Thelen on certain aspects of small-group research; Davis on status-anxiety; and Stigler on monopoly versus competition as sources of economic development. There are papers attempting a serious analysis of some practical problem: Viner on international aspects of economic stabilization;

Blough and Schultz on the role of government in promoting economic growth; Emmerich and Clapp on social science and the administrative art; Nuveen and Morgenthau on diplomatic negotiation; Cushman on the law versus guilt by association. Other papers are essays on specific theoretical or methodological problems: Simon and Newell on the use of analogy as theory; Olson on biosocial theory in human development; Hughes on the cultural aspect of urban research; Gottschalk on the historian's use of generalizations. There are some arguments on methodological issues in the social sciences: Strauss for humanism in social science; Cate for the study of the unique case; Hayek for overcoming the evils of specialization. There are some stimulating general papers, presented to the conference as a whole, on the status, strengths, and weaknesses of social science, by Knight, Riesman, and Kimpton. Harris opened the conference with a history of the Social Science Research Building, the oldest of its kind, and Walter Lippmann, the convocation speaker, used as his subject "The Changing Times."

I have not yet mentioned two of the papers because they do not fall into any of the above categories and because I believe they are especially deserving of criticism. Miller presents a general theory for the behavioral sciences (a

term that he claims to have coined), developed over a period of six years by a group at the University of Chicago and later at the University of Michigan. He finds, by analogy, general propositions characteristic of all of the following systems: cell, organ, individual, group, society, and electronic circuit. With a flashing display of scientific verbiage, he almost reaches the level of the nineteenth-century philosophers who held that society was a machine or an organism. This is "talking a good game of science" and I suppose it pays off. On a much less pretentious level, but equally silly, is Murdock's analogy of moieties in preliterate societies with the two-party political system of certain Western countries. The argument has no purpose except to claim that a group divided into two subgroups is more stable than one divided into any other number of parts. But it also ignores the fact that a political party fluctuates drastically in membership, and that the two-party system is a function of a political structure based on a certain history and on a strong executive.

Of the several brilliant offerings in the volume, only a few can be mentioned here: Lasswell's discussion of value assumptions in medicine; Davis' discussion of the problems consequent to the inferior status of women; Stigler's argument that monopoly offers more rewards for bold ventures than does free competition; Emmerich's observation that there has been a sharp and unwarranted decline of research interest in local government.

There was a lot of academic fun when these gentlemen and their critics got together, but the whole—saving some of the parts—does not add up to

much of a contribution to the social sciences. It is too full of clever words and too little of systematic analysis.

Arnold M. Rose  
University of Minnesota

LEO ROGIN: *The Meaning and Validity of Economic Theory*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956. 697 pages. \$6.50.

This posthumous work has had the benefit of affectionate and intelligent editorial completion by Winifred Ellsworth Rogin and by colleagues and former students whose names constitute a tribute to the author. All have shown restraint in revision and additions, believing that readers would prefer to have the original, though in many cases from early draft. Rogin, with characteristic industry, had intended to go on to an examination of American economic thought, but never reached it, which is doubly to be regretted. Students in this country, appetite whetted by his treatment of British and continental economists from physiocrats to Keynes, must remain ignorant of Rogin's interpretation of the course of native doctrine, which lends itself to his method. The lack of inclusiveness is less serious, for the chapters are confined to major figures anyhow.

The thesis is the enlightened one that economic theory, or theories, arise in proposals for economic policy, generally by way of reform in a crisis. This means that political economy is less science than skill, less durable law than leaning at a particular point in history. Analysis, however fundamental each famous writer conceives his to be, is relative to circumstance which has pro-

voked his solemn purpose and is destined to give way to later occasion. These pages diminish dogma mightily, if they do not destroy its sway. The particularly revealing discussion of the self-conversion of Keynes is a notable illustration of Rogin's service in this quarter.

While outworn creeds of social conduct have cried to be replaced, economists have proved themselves a lethargic lot. Proof lies in the caution of even the innovators, who have rehearsed the past more than they have heralded the future. Therefore it is perhaps inevitable that Rogin, though impressed by the claims of policy as against principle, has devoted much space to different thinkers' speculations which seem to be remote from new directions. The faithful execution of this rigorous exercise will have its admirers. A few impatient readers will feel that such ruminations are the cross we bear. Maybe it is not possible to narrate the abandonment of inapplicable for more pertinent explanations without going into excruciating detail of the discredited notions. The illuminating history of ideas requires an amount of this, but less than we are often treated to. If the true stimulus to economic thought is in worthy social purpose, why not make more of the object, and of the life of the would-be reformer? The impressive elements in the story are moral ones, and if these received chief attention, evanescent theorizing would drop into better perspective. This, however, is iconoclasm and cannot alter the scholarly accomplishment of this treatise.

Broadus Mitchell  
Rutgers University

HERBERT A. BLOCH and FRANK T. FLYNN: *Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today*. New York, Random House, Inc., 1956. 612 pages. \$7.95.

The most recent of textbooks on juvenile delinquency by American sociologists and social workers is Bloch and Flynn's work. It is definitive, sophisticated, thoroughly documented, and ranks among the best books on the problem.

There is no explicit statement of the division of labor between the co-authors. However, it is safe to assume that sociologist Bloch was responsible for Parts I and II—"The Meaning and Scope of Delinquency" and "Pressures Toward Delinquency"—whereas in all likelihood Flynn, late professor of social work at the University of Chicago, prepared Parts III and IV—"Treatment Agencies" and "Prevention." The latter sections are in general more clearly written, with considerably less esoteric jargon than the former. The average undergraduate, for example, will find Chapter 3, "The Search for Elusive Causes," and Chapter 4, "Trends in Personality Research," difficult reading. But this may be due in part to the fact that Bloch's task was more difficult, for the meaning, scope, and etiology of delinquency evoke more theoretical and methodological issues than do treatment and prevention at the present time.

Bloch's key contribution to etiology is his concept of the *psychogenetic pattern* of personality, developed upon the earlier work of Healy and Bronner. It represents a "broad schematic outline which attempts to embrace the several

psychological and environmental factors functioning conjointly to produce social and anti-social behavior." As Bloch tries to explain it elsewhere, "this concept represents a crude but significant beginning in putting into some coherent form the conditioned effects of his developmental history upon the culturally oriented and organically vulnerable individual as they fall into a pattern and tend to impart consistency to his behavior."

Elsewhere in the book sociological cognizance is taken of the broad dislocations in the American social structure in accounting for the problem. Merton, Taft, Cohen, and other sociologists are joined in pointing out as a highly provocative source of delinquency and crime the difficulties that underprivileged groups face in reconciling the limitations of achievement in our society with the success ideology of American culture.

The book's assets include an annotated list of suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter and an excellent over-all bibliography. In the appendix are two detailed case histories, both of which should prove to be pedagogically valuable.

Milton L. Barron

City College of the City of New York

MEYER WEINBERG and OSCAR SHABAT: *Society and Man*. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1956. 782 pages. \$7.50.

RAYMOND F. BELLAMY, HARRISON V. CHASE, VINCENT V. THURSBY, and SADIE G. YOUNG: *A Preface to the Social Sciences*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956. 532 pages. \$6.50.

VERNE S. SWEEDLUN, GOLDA M. CRAWFORD, LOUIS H. DOUGLAS, and JOHN G. KENYON: *Man in Society*. Vol. I. New York, American Book Company, 1956. 609 pages. \$5.50.

The report of the Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society* (1945), stamped an academic good housekeeping seal of approval on an educational movement that had been going on for fifteen or twenty years. With the publication of the Harvard report, however, numerous schools made haste to introduce into their offerings for the first two years some type of general-education course in social science. The result has been generally improved curricula, but two factors have prevented the social science course from making its full contribution: the relative scarcity of competent teachers and the noticeable lack of good textbook and teaching material. The first of these ills is regrettably still present; far too often the course is taught by persons on loan from other departments—usually the low man on the totem pole, or a young Ph.D. fresh from his dissertation who "holds classes" in the basic course and teaches his specialty. Happily, the second liability has been eliminated with the appearance of a growing number of attractive textbooks such as the three listed above.

In a well-written foreword, Herbert Blumer describes Weinberg and Shabat's *Society and Man* as a "refreshingly original book." It is that, and much more. If the words "creative" and "imaginative" can be applied to any textbook, this one deserves them. The



authors have structured an entirely new type of book that attempts to stimulate the student in critical thinking, to lessen the gap between the social science researcher and the student, to provide the student with some insight into methodology, and to introduce the field of social science.

The framework consists of reports on basic studies that (1) contribute to the understanding of American society and American democracy and (2) represent a challenging viewpoint, or approach. In writing the reports, the authors frequently improve on the exposition of the original work with a style that is clear and engaging. Each chapter consists of a short introduction and reportings on two challenging studies. Provocative questions and a summary of main points accompany each report.

An enumeration of a few of the studies might help capture a little of the flavor of the book. In the chapter on social institutions, Webb's *The Great Plains* is reported along with London's *Decision-Making in a Local Union*. The legislative struggle has Bailey's *Congress Makes a Law* paired with Rigg's *Pressures on Congress*. Changing capitalism couples Galbraith's *American Capitalism: The Concept of Contravailing Power* and J. Steindl's *Maturity and Stagnation in American Capitalism*.

The format is attractive, the margins wide and easy on the eye, the print very readable. Each chapter has a selective annotated bibliography with comments that make you want to sit down and order a shelf of books. This reviewer was particularly pleased with the listing of novels and plays in a separate biblio-

graphical section. The course in social science survey lends itself to this type of reading materials, and the authors have done a real service by including it.

A more conventional, though equally commendable, approach to the teaching of a unified course in social science is provided by Bellamy, Chase, Thursby, and Young in *A Preface to the Social Sciences*. The authors teach in four different departments at Florida State University, and their product represents an excellent job of synthesis and integration. Cutting through the narrow confines of the academic disciplines, the authors keep their sights trained on a broad focus of American society, yet they do not neglect the essential facts and basic information which are prerequisite to an understanding. Although four individuals collaborated in the writing of the text, the style does not suffer therefrom. The book is pleasant, lively, and straightforward. Illustrations and examples are unusually dramatic and students should find them extremely interesting. The well-chosen pictures, graphs, charts, and cartoons contribute to the striking appearance of the book.

*Man in Society*, Volume I, by Sweedlun, Crawford, Douglas, and Kenyon, is the result of more than a decade's experience in teaching the integrated social science course at Kansas State College. This book differs from the two previously discussed in its emphasis upon content and background. Historical material, often lacking in the survey approach, is woven into the treatment of many of the problems. Those teachers who prefer a two-volume text with a full and enriched content will find this study to their liking. The book is

written in an interesting style, with chapter arrangement logical and clear. By all standards, a first-rate book.

J. A. Burkhardt  
Stephens College

JACOB L. and ALMA L. HIRNING: *Marriage Adjustment*. New York, American Book Company, 1956. 456 pages. \$5.00.

Family-life education is becoming more and more popular in this complex age. Numerous texts and popular books are appearing, written to help youth prepare for marriage and to assist husbands and wives in getting along better. *Marriage Adjustment*, which focuses particularly on husband-wife relationships, seems to be a needed college text since so many students are married and the age for marriage is becoming younger. The book contains chapters on dating, courtship, and preparation for marriage, as well as material centered on the marital experience and what it means to husband and wife.

The authors suggest that people fail in their marital adjustment mainly because of inadequate information about the "intricacies of modern marriage." The whole book is an attempt to help the reader gain insight into the meaning of marriage and "to acquaint him with guiding principles, so that he may be more qualified to solve his marital problems."

Each chapter contains pertinent facts, principles, and examples. At the end of each chapter is an "Interpretative Summary," which gives the gist of the chapter, followed by "Thought Questions and Projects" and "Suggest-

ed Readings for Further Study." The projects include activities involving group dynamics and other up-to-date methods in family-life education. The appendices include a selected bibliography, an annotated list of recommended films, a list of marriage-counseling sources, and a glossary of the technical terms used in the book.

The authors present most of the basic materials contained in the usual college texts on marriage and include in addition some interesting analyses and contributions regarding the psychological and psycho-social mechanisms, processes, and adjustments in the husband-wife relationship. A theoretical framework is presented as well as many practical suggestions.

One limitation of the book is that it offers very little on parent-child relationships. Also the authors take a rather liberal point of view regarding premarital sex behavior and fail to raise some of the questions that have been posed regarding the scientific validity of studies concerning sex.

All in all, this book is written in an interesting, informal style. It undoubtedly will be profitable and enjoyable to many besides college students.

Rex A. Skidmore  
University of Utah

JOHN S. HARRIS: *British Government Inspection as a Dynamic Process: The Local Services and the Central Departments*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. 196 pages. \$4.25.

The problems of any administrator are many and varied. He must not only know what to do but must decide how to do it; having settled this matter,

he must make sure that it is done properly. In governmental administration such problems are multiplied, for the influences that play on these decisions are more numerous and complex, and the scrutiny to which they are subjected is more searching than elsewhere. One inevitable problem in any government is to ensure that central-government policy is satisfactorily executed in local areas. While the techniques of accomplishing this vary naturally with constitution and circumstance, in Britain one such technique is the system of central-government inspection of appropriate local-government services. And it is to this system that Harris has devoted his able study.

It is worth stressing, however, that central-government inspection in Britain is not merely a device to ensure compliance by the local authorities with the directives of the central bureaucracy; Harris properly insists that it is a "dynamic process." Though doubtless compliance is an important goal, other important purposes are served as well. At least in the older and better-established areas of activity, the inspector is a highly important liaison man, carrying views, complaints, and information about local conditions back to Whitehall, as well as bringing instructions from Whitehall to the local governments. Harris' book makes this quite clear. In a few fields the inspectors have become advisers, friends, and helpful confidants of the local officers. They are not always welcomed, and indeed their coming is frequently resented, especially in functional spheres newly subjected to inspection; they are not always numerous enough or sufficiently skilled to accomplish all their purposes. But central inspection unquestionably

serves a useful purpose in those areas where it is employed, and few men today challenge its general usefulness. Harris argues that it enforces a uniform minimum standard of efficiency, that it eliminates the confusion of extreme diversity, that it protects against the rare chance of corruption, that it makes expert knowledge cheaply available to local bodies, and that it is in any case an inevitable concomitant of the system of grants-in-aid.

This is a competent little volume. Careful, systematic, straightforward, and a little dry, it examines the inspection system in each field of activity—health, education, fire, police—describing its history, its organization, its techniques, and assessing its efficiency and effectiveness. The author is not concerned with government inspection of private activities but only with the inspection of local governments. His book is comprehensive without being tiresomely detailed; his analysis is sound and his conclusions are fair. He has done an important and useful job. Americans especially can learn much from a book like this, for it shows us how little supervision our own national government exercises over the state and local government units of this country.

This book has all the appearance of specialist reading; but its lesson has a wide applicability, and it deserves a far wider audience than it is likely to get.

William S. Livingston  
University of Texas

LESLIE HOUSEDEN: *The Prevention of Cruelty To Children*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 406 pages. \$7.50.

Contemporary students of society have wandered far from the areas and problems that concerned their predecessors two and three generations ago. Then, in the children's field, there was much emphasis upon the defective, delinquent, dependent, and neglected groups. Today we talk almost entirely about the behavioral development of normal children. This has been a natural sequence to developments in social science thinking, but it is well to be reminded that while we have talked ourselves away from certain problems, they still persist. This book is an illustration—a tragic one—of this fact.

Dealing with British conditions, the purpose of this volume is to show the neglected lot of many British children, despite enlightened legislation and all the benefits of "the welfare state." Part I deals with the traditions of squalor handed down from generation to generation. The period covered is the past hundred years. The second part deals with the present, i.e., conditions since the Second World War. Here the author lays the finger on the impossible parent, on the filth and poverty of homes, the cruel neglect of children—all the details of a dingy, sordid existence. The indictment is specific. Case histories are cited—chapter and verse, with no punches pulled. Moreover, it is made clear that it is not only the ignorant, the poor, and the immoral who neglect their children but also at times professional people and people of quite adequate means.

The third and final part of the book is constructive and looks to the future. Poor parents are the inheritors of "evil traditions," and wise social statesmanship must break the chain. Long-endured squalor and the disorder of liv-

ing conditions breed their continuance until living conditions are improved. Timely help to prevent overcrowding and other problems is needed for parents. Rest for emotionally and physically exhausted mothers needs to be provided through the medium of residential training homes. The keynote throughout is the prevention, not the suppression, of cruelty to children.

This is not a pleasant book to read. In fact, it is highly disconcerting. The reaction of many readers may well be "How can these things be?" With all of our social services, our financial appropriations, our pompous pronouncements, and pious platitudes, can all this be true *now*? Yes, replies the author, because "even the kindest hearts are kept from aching when people close their eyes."

James H. S. Bossard  
University of Pennsylvania

JOHN W. OLIVER: *History of American Technology*, ed. Guy Stanton Ford. New York, The Ronald Press, 1956. 676 pages. \$6.50.

As the editor points out in the Preface to Oliver's book, "The distinction of this volume is that it represents the first comprehensive historical account of American technology and invention as a basic contribution to the nation's culture." In a tightly compressed, yet lucid, single book, the author unfolds for the layman in easily comprehended terms the growth of our science and technology, from the hand tools of Jamestown and Plymouth to the advent of automation.

This volume, so ambitious that it is easy to believe that the author has la-

bored some twenty years on it, is no ordinary history of inventions—of which there is no lack. Here is an effort to use the developmental method to show painstakingly the accretions of our scientific knowledge from the very beginning. He takes up the transplanting of tools, skills, and technologies from abroad. Then he goes on to present the men and techniques that altered our agricultural technology and building technology and recounts the birth of the age of steel, petroleum, electricity, clothing, and building construction. He stops to trace the interaction of Colonial scientists and those of the Royal Society. The story of the Revolution and later conflicts is told in terms of such technological developments as the Pennsylvania rifle, the need for a West Point to focus our engineering knowledge, and the adaptation of production centers to war needs.

Although the strict economy practiced in keeping space to a minimum for large and fascinating topics makes it difficult to peruse this volume swiftly, the reader will profit from the solid matter. One is impressed by Oliver's ability to tell so much that is new in so short a space. For example, a relatively rounded account of the principle of interchangeable parts is represented by Eli Whitney's famous rifle, the ancestor of our mass-production idea. Whitney had each part of the gun made from a metal mold; the workers filed the pieces until each one was of the precise dimensions. Later Whitney applied his labor-saving techniques to clockmaking. Franklin is presented rather exclusively as a utilitarian scientist—at the expense of his well-known intellectual curiosity and interest in pure

science. Washington and Jefferson appear in a more credible framework of gentlemen scientists, effective administrators, and experimenters in the latest of agricultural science. Inventions are usually put in their time setting: for example, the story of refrigeration includes the "great ice famine of 1889-90," which arose after a warm winter and a hot summer that ensured wholesale spoilage. In dating inventions, the author is usually careful to point out the time when maximum use was made of the particular contrivance.

Oliver concludes optimistically of the industrial-technological revolution of the past three centuries in the spirit of Toynbee, who feels that mankind's hope of better things lies in a permanent industrial revolution. He is particularly impressed with the fact that men have more time "to be themselves" than at any other time in history.

Harvey Wish

Western Reserve University

MAURICE NATANSON: *The Social Dynamics of George Herbert Mead*. Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1956. 102 pages. \$2.50.

Those who knew George Herbert Mead may remember seeing him confronting his typewriter with clenched hands and with tears of frustration. The complexity of that brilliant mind did not lend itself readily to the linear expression necessary for publication. It is unfortunate that the motion picture camera had not yet been sufficiently developed to catch and transmit to posterity Mead's own representation of the term "gesture"—the sweeping arms,

finger manipulation, and facial contortions that would have given the intended meanings to his words. He was not of the Greeks, who became sufficiently at home in their natural-science world to understand and describe it in simple terms. Rather was he of the Middle Ages, aware of the growing social complexities of his time and reaching farther than grasping, but himself avoiding the weaving of transcendental canopies over an imperfectly understood reality.

Fortunately, George Herbert Mead's students—like Aristotle's and Hegel's—have rallied to bring a wider understanding and recognition of his unique genius. Natanson has made so generous and apt use of annotated quotations that one is constantly confronted by Mead's own words. But these, even in the indirect discourse of the context, are as difficult to follow as is Kallen's Introduction, with its excellently condensed description of the trends in which Mead's thoughts found their context.

Just how this book can contribute to political science is a question. Even though Mead refers but little to historical philosophical trends, he introduces much philosophy, psychology, and metaphysics that are pretty remote from government, whether viewed as political science or public administration. How much, for example, are the students of these fields interested in Mind, Self, and Society? Or Act, Object, Process? Or Act, Temporality, Sociality? Perhaps they should be, and perhaps if they were, the subject of political science might undergo a degree of overhauling that would provide a necessary and desirable rationale. But where would this fit into the practical

daily world except in the mind of a so-called "egghead"? Perhaps this very appellation and its significance represent the tragic confusion of our modern society and government. It may be that political science needs just such analyses as Mead's and Natanson's to lift it to the plane that natural science has achieved in social respect and effective fruitfulness.

Carl F. Taensch  
St. Louis University

EDGAR F. BORGATTA and HENRY J. MEYER (eds.): *Sociological Theory: Present-day Sociology from the Past*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956. 547 pages. \$6.75.

This is a volume of readings on sociological theory, with emphasis on contributions made during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth. From among more recent authors only Linton, MacIver, Mannheim, Mead, Piaget, Sapir, Radcliffe-Brown, and Waller are represented, and most of these writers are social psychologists or cultural anthropologists.

As indicated in the subtitle, this unusual selection is based on the sound (but today not very popular) view that "some of the most important ideas of relevance to sociological theory and research today were developed by clear-eyed observers long before the present-day techniques of rigorous description and experimentation" evolved. Although the editors fully recognize the importance of the new techniques, they deplore the tendency "to think that ideas begin . . . with the testing of an experimental hypothesis." The avail-



ability of developed tools of research, they say, makes possible the rigor of technique "but cannot be substituted for intelligent and imaginative thinking."

Consequently, the editors have selected from the writings of earlier authors fragments which, to some extent, have become part of that body of knowledge that we commonly call general, or theoretical, sociology. Methodological and philosophical discussions on the nature of society and of such generalized concepts as culture, interaction, and communication have been omitted, an omission to be regretted, since the editors' stated object was to cover "most of the major topics of sociology." With the exception just mentioned, they have attained their goal surprisingly well. The individual topics have been arranged into five major parts, devoted, respectively, to the person as a social unit (including the study of socialization), social forms and processes, the social structure, the persistence of this structure (here was the natural place for the excerpts on culture), and social change.

The book can be used with great profit as auxiliary reading in courses on introductory or general sociology and on the history of sociological thought.

N. S. Timasheff  
Fordham University

MARSHALL KNAPPEN: *An Introduction to American Foreign Policy*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956. 587 pages. \$6.00.

The widespread ignorance of world politics on the part of a great majority

of average citizens is a very serious matter to the makers of our foreign policy. It is also a matter of serious concern to educators interested in the preparation of future voters. This book is intended as a text for "an introductory course on American foreign policy offered to all students, without prerequisites, as part of the student's training as a citizen and future voter."

Keeping in mind the need of the average citizen rather than that of the public official, the author uses the problem-approach to introduce the student to an analysis of the basic issues of American foreign policy. He describes the contemporary international scene and indicates the main problems that America faces in the struggle for survival in the modern world. He analyzes the capabilities and weaknesses of Russia and describes the chief features of the American governmental and economic system and the governmental machinery used in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy.

After devoting one chapter to a description of the 1945-47 peace settlement and its importance as a frame of reference for future policies, the author devotes nine chapters to an analysis of the policy of containment adopted in 1947. Our efforts to build the necessary military alliances and supporting political and economic programs in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America are reviewed in detail. He concludes with a chapter suggesting possible alternative policies open to us in case our present containment policy fails.

Knappen has made a valuable contribution to the teaching of world politics. There has been a real need for a book written for the nonmajors, who as citizens must face the responsibility

of making decisions on foreign policy. The book is written in a clear and interesting manner, the author's analysis is sound, and his treatment is objective, with no attempt to impose his views upon the student. Both the content and the manner of presentation will arouse thought and stimulate discussion in a basic course for nonmajors.

W. M. Grubbs  
Georgia State College

DONALD E. WORCESTER and WENDELL G. SCHAEFFER: *The Growth and Culture of Latin America*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. 963 pages. \$6.00.

This work is a survey of Latin-American history from the period of discovery until 1954; it is intended for students receiving a first introduction to the area. The major problem in planning this type of book is that of selecting the events, individuals, and movements necessary to a well-rounded presentation while still remaining within a manageable length. The authors have chosen their material carefully and have succeeded in developing a full and balanced account. For the convenience of the customary two-semester course in Latin-American history there is an even quantitative distribution between the colonial and national periods. The book is highly readable throughout.

The basic organization of the text is primarily chronological rather than a pursuance of individual vice-royalties and states throughout the colonial and national periods. This is a more difficult approach, particularly in the postindependence era, but it is well worth the

effort, in the opinion of this reviewer. Thus the progressive development of the entire continent may be presented by concentrating successively upon smaller areas for relatively shorter periods of time. The danger in this method lies in the possible loss of national continuity and the leaving of gaps between local treatments. In the present work, parts of the nineteenth century seem to suffer occasionally from such skips.

The treatment of the contemporary era by the authors is by far the most thorough and accurate that this reviewer has found in any similar work. One question of style, however, deserves comment: the failure to capitalize the names of political parties consistently. The forms "liberals" and "radicals" may be used in a generic sense, as frequently is done, but they are misleading if they are retained in uncapitalized form to designate the adherents of the parties bearing those names in Chile and Argentina. No footnotes to the textual material have been used, but extensive bibliographies of publications in English have been appended to each of the seven major sections of the book, and a helpful glossary of Spanish and Portuguese terms peculiar to Latin America has been included.

Frank M. Lewis  
University of South Dakota

M. BREWSTER SMITH, JEROME S. BRUNER, and ROBERT W. WHITE: *Opinions and Personality*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. 294 pages. \$6.00.

Unlike most contemporary attitude-surveys or opinion polls, which deal

superficially with large populations, this study is concerned with only ten men's opinions toward Russia. Decrying the absence of a mature theory of attitudes while still acknowledging the considerable progress in the refinement of their measurement, the authors make a strong case for focusing upon the natural history of holding an opinion. Opinions are an integral part of personality, reflecting man's attempt to cope with his world, to minimize the disruptive effect of conflicting information, and to provide a basis for decisive action. With this fundamental premise, Smith and six colleagues in the Harvard Psychological Clinic embarked in 1947 upon the difficult task of charting the many complex relationships between opinion and personality in a manner sufficiently objective to be convincing while at the same time preserving the essence of the individual person.

That they succeeded so well is in no small measure due to the exhaustive and ingenious assessment techniques employed and to the manner in which they were interpreted. Each of the ten men required no less than thirty hours of autobiographies, focused personal-history interviews, intelligence tests, projective devices, information tests, and half a dozen specially constructed techniques for probing into his opinions toward Russia. Similar in many respects to earlier intensive studies of normal lives in progress at Harvard, the conceptual framework and techniques of evaluation show the strong influence of Henry Murray and the assessment staff for the Office of Special Services during the Second World War.

Russia was chosen as the area of opinion to study because it is a contro-

versial subject of great contemporary political interest, charged with anxiety for many people. A careful content analysis of pertinent mass media present in Boston during the spring of 1947 provided a context for appraising the informational environment. Although news articles about Russia and communism were generally unfavorable, the subtleties and frustrations of the Western alliance and the pattern of Communist operations were yet to come.

Richly illustrated case reports of three of the ten men demonstrate the intimate relationship between opinions and personality. The other seven men are treated in a single chapter. John Chatwell, a bright young law student with rather liberal tendencies; Charles Lanlin, a conservative, forty-two-year-old appliance salesman; and Hilary Sullivan, a strongly pro-Communist journalist, were chosen for detailed presentation. Following an introductory sketch and a description of personal values, the individual's attitudes toward Russia are set forth in detail according to the differentiated object (Russia) of attitude, its saliency, time perspective, informational support, object value, orientation, and policy stand. The development and maintaining of opinions by the individual are skillfully woven together with his life history, intellectual capacities, basic strivings, and adjustive strategies.

In the final chapter an attempt is made to summarize the results in a series of tables. The lack of quantitative treatment and the resulting complex patterning of personality may prove disappointing to those searching for correlations between personality traits and scores on attitude scales. But as the

authors demonstrate rather convincingly, the understanding of the nature of opinion, like the understanding of personality, requires close scrutiny of many aspects of individuality. This descriptive and functional analysis of opinions and personality has provided an important schema and set of dimensions by which to conduct investigations of a large-scale nature employing quantitative procedures. Regardless of one's theoretical position, this book is a "must" for any serious student of opinions and attitudes.

Wayne H. Holtzman  
The Hogg Foundation

ARNOLD M. ROSE: *Sociology: The Study of Human Relations*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956. 589 pages. \$6.00.

Part of the disrepute of sociology in certain quarters stems from textbooks that inspire but few to study an important and maturing discipline. The introductory texts especially are all too often marked by intellectual and stylistic mediocrity, by diffuse and frequently unrelated—though usually extensive—information about social life that ranges from the commonplace to the esoteric, by paucity of system, of analysis, of explicit theory, and at times by what appears to be the assumption of student illiteracy. These traits are present in varying degrees in several recently published textbooks.

The first pages of Rose's book suggest something better. The Preface promises a "sociological . . . theoretical framework," the introductory chapter is an excellent brief discussion of the nature and problems of social science

and sociology, and the second chapter, on how people adjust to each other, names communication as the "basic process of sociology" and establishes an approach in the Cooley-Mead tradition. But this approach is largely abandoned in the remainder of the book.

Chapters 3 and 4 include a somewhat definitional but adequate discussion of social control and a conventional discourse on personality and role, in which Freud joins Cooley and Mead. Then comes a transitional chapter on social structure that brings out skillfully the "operations" of institutions but greatly oversimplifies functionalism. The next two chapters are, respectively, a scissors-and-paste treatment of the "intimate human association"—i.e., the American family and, briefly, friendship groups—and a forty-page miscellany on "specific social institutions": economic, political, bureaucratic, religious, educational, and scientific. The author's most thorough chapter (on stratification), which includes comparative materials and consideration of trends but which is rather weakly organized, is followed by a contrastingly well-integrated and fairly sophisticated discussion of crowd, audience, and mass society.

A brief treatment of voluntary association, which includes power distribution but omits the organizational dimension, comprises Chapter 10. This is followed by an essay on social change in which contributions of Ogburn, Myrdal, Blumer, and MacIver are used but which could have been exploited more fully for this neglected subject. Then comes a standard excursion into the peripheral area of demography, followed by two chapters on the community, the first of which treats of the tra-

ditional ecology and the other of the community's "public life," i.e., the author's nonanalytical survey of "Eastern-town." Here the author rather curiously interpolates a chapter on social problems, providing a sketchy overview as well as more developed depictions of delinquency and housing. Chapter 16 is a sort of potpourri on conflict and accommodation of theoretical abstractions, illustrations of racial and religious conflict, psychology of aggression, and strictures on mediation. The author concludes with a chapter on morale and group solidarity, in which a long list of hypothetical generalizations precedes accounts of morale developments among American Negroes and in the U.S. Army. There are a glossary of sociological terms, recommended films, study aids, suggested jobs for sociologists, and a brief bibliography.

This accounting neglects Rose's familiarity with, and use of, numerous empirical studies (including, conspicuously, his own well-known investigations), the sheer informational abundance of his volume, and the artistic treatment given it by the publisher. This handsome book probably will be widely used. By itself, however, it will induce few able students to pursue the calling of its author.

Charles H. Page  
Smith College

EDWARD G. NELSON: *The Company and the Community*. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, 1956. 406 pages.

The misleading title of this book suggests a general treatment of the relationship between the business or in-

dustrial company and the community. The book is not such a treatment. It is concerned with one company, the J. B. Ehram and Sons Manufacturing Company, in one community, Enterprise, Kansas, a town of less than one thousand population.

Since the author is a professor of economics, one would expect that the methods of collecting and analyzing data would be those of the social scientist. And he does state that "the many personal documents have been used with some awareness of the criteria provided by Gordon W. Allport in *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science*." However, he states also that "this story in its entirety and particularly as it concerns persons and their relationships is but a representation formulated from a few facts and from many inferences."

The book is actually a history of the Ehram family and its business activities. Approximately one-seventh of the volume is devoted to the family's life in Switzerland and migration to Kansas. The remainder is concerned with the development and transformations of the family business in Kansas.

Nelson states that he gives no full treatment of the relationship of the company with its working force because "except at a few critical times when the record is clear, the relationship cannot be evaluated or even inferred with any degree of accuracy." There is no statement that the author tried vigorously to get information on this subject by interviewing workers in the area. This omission, together with the general tone of the volume, leads this reviewer to wonder whether the book was perhaps inspired by someone in the Ehram family or company.

The book is readable and attractive in format. It will doubtless be interesting to many people in Kansas. Students of economic development of the frontier may find in it source material of some value. This reviewer doubts that students of the present-day industrial community will find here an extension of knowledge or insight.

John B. Knox  
University of Tennessee

ED KILMAN and THEON WRIGHT:  
*Hugh Roy Cullen: A Story of American Opportunity*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954. 369 pages. \$4.00.

The biographers found it difficult to restrain their use of complimentary adjectives, annoyed the reviewer by repetitious references to the "rugged lines" of Hugh Roy Cullen's face, oversimplified the story of the panic of 1907, and failed to emphasize the significance of the introduction of scientific instruments into the oil business, but they have succeeded in placing a readable account of a "rugged individualist" before the public. This Horatio Alger success story deserved to be better known, and, by following the career of a boy who survived the horrors of a river whirlpool, a blue norther on the High Plains, and the heartaches concomitant to the change-over from a cotton-buyer to oil-lease-buyer and independent operator, the reader glimpses the major economic developments in the Southwest during the past seventy-five years.

Deprived of much formal education because he had to go to work, Hugh Roy Cullen gave credit to his mother

for stressing the virtues of honesty, integrity, faith in oneself, and for encouraging him to read about any new undertaking. Cullen was among the pioneers in the oil game, and, though he used common sense and "creekology," he was widely read in geology and geophysics and kept up with new technological changes. He was ready to use the gravity meter and seismograph when they were introduced. Against the advice of many geologists from the major companies, he pushed his plans to drill at old sites and to drill deeper than had been done. When he succeeded, even against the "heaving" or Jackson shale, the University of Pittsburgh awarded him an honorary degree of Doctor of Science. The citation read: "For originality of thought, daring and vision in the development of methods of drilling deep wells."

Cullen foresaw some of the economic possibilities of Houston as a financial, shipping, and industrial center when he moved there in 1904. Arguments with Jesse Jones over city planning show a keen understanding of the methods and functions of local interest-groups. After a trip around New York state in 1932, he reported to his Houston friends: "Everybody says Governor Roosevelt is big-mouthed but harmless. I don't believe he's harmless—I think he's dangerous." He set out to fight the New Deal as he watched the increasing bureaucratic involvements of government in business. Somewhat inconsistently Cullen called for free enterprise and a tariff wall to protect "us from cheap foreign markets." He fought Roosevelt's "court packing" measure and urged the resignation of those congressmen who blindly followed the President. When



anti-Roosevelt Democrats urged Cullen to stand for Congress, he refused but kept up his role of supporting conservative candidates, including Democratic Governor Shivers and Republican President Eisenhower. The effectiveness of Cullen's role in politics is not evaluated by his biographers.

Best known, perhaps, of the philanthropies of the Cullens are the building of the University of Houston, with its large student body, and the donations to the Medical Center and to hospitals, Catholic and Protestant. Interest in education is deep-rooted, going back to grandfather Ezekiel Cullen, who, as chairman of a committee on education in the days of the Republic of Texas urged the building of primary schools and colleges, wrote: "Nothing is so essential to free government as the general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence of every kind." Roy and Lillie Cullen have been good stewards of the millions that came their way, and the Gonzales Warm Springs for Crippled Children is but another testimony of that fact. Cullen taught self-reliance, but he was not against giving aid to those in need "regardless of their creed or color, . . . believing that only an educated and enlightened people can remain free." The book is well illustrated, but the index will disappoint an oil man.

Robert Crawford Cotner  
University of Texas

S. HERBERT UNTERBERGER: *Guaranteed Wage & Supplementary Unemployment Pay Plans*. Chicago, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1956. 189 pages. \$3.50.

In his preface, the author states he has written for "those practical men who expect that sooner or later . . . they will find themselves considering guaranteed wages for the men they employ or represent." Accordingly, this brief book attempts to set forth succinct answers to four questions: Why are guarantees and SUB payments now of major concern to unions, individual employees, and employers? What has been the historical development and background of such plans? What is the nature of guarantees currently proposed and successfully negotiated? What will be the future pattern and extent of guaranteed wage plans? The author's answers to these questions divide the book into two parts. The first part may be characterized as historical and reportorial; the second is essentially operational.

Part I discusses the historical and contemporary development of guarantees. It supplies in brief space an excellent summary of the arguments, pro and con, that have been used by both sides in the discussion of the appropriateness of wage guarantees and SUB payments. The practical and busy businessman, union leader, employee, or interested citizen will find these fully explained in factual terms. This section closes with a summary of the auto-workers' and steelworkers' plans of the mid-1950's. The information in this part is factually accurate and very well summarized.

Part II deals with the important problems to be met in setting up and operating a guaranteed wage and SUB pay plan. Here again the author sets forth factually the problems to be faced, their available solutions, and how they have been met by employers

and unions in recently adopted agreements. The chapters in this part cover estimating the cost of guaranteed wage plans, minimizing the costs of wage-guarantee plans, financial problems involved in guarantee plans, legal problems involved in guarantee plans, and administrative problems in operating a guarantee plan. This section will be helpful to the reader who must consider guaranteed wages for his employees or the workers he represents in collective bargaining. An appendix contains the text of three plans currently in operation, those of the Ford Motor Company and United Auto Workers; the American Can Company and the United Steelworkers; and Continental Can Company, Inc., and the United Steelworkers.

This work should prove useful as a handbook to persons interested in this subject. However, the absence of analytical evaluation or interpretation limits the usefulness of the book for the busy reader who is seeking merely factual information. Such a reader is presumed to be not interested in, or too busy for, the broader economic and public-policy aspects of wage guarantees and supplementary unemployment benefit payments. The knowledge of economic theory may not be much of an ally, but the lack of it can be an effective enemy.

Robert C. Sedgwick  
Syracuse University

GEORGE S. STEVENSON: *Mental Health Planning for Social Action*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956. 358 pages. \$6.50.

The five parts of this book are relatively independent and of varying

impact. Part One, "Basic Considerations," introduces the various viewpoints and meanings of the term "mental health." It describes in brief form the history of the mental-health movement and the persons and agencies involved. Certain logically and pragmatically determined criteria for planning mental-health programs are noted.

Part Two discusses in some detail the restoration of mental health. This section deals with the broad scope of mental disease, the mentally deficient, and the borderline problems of mental illness. This part is an excellent, concise overview of present management of mental illness by the many interested persons and agencies in this country. The material should be particularly valuable for the lay person needing to grasp essential facts in connection with community work in this area.

In Part Three, "Protection of Mental Health," attention is directed to the scarcity of adequate information regarding causes of mental ill health. The author considers humanitarian factors of sufficient importance to require a strong effort in the field of prevention despite poorly understood causation. He suggests that investigative work may be combined with preventive work.

In Part Four, "The Elevation of Mental Health," the author attempts to define the outlines and goals of mental health positively, without recourse to the usual "absence of mental disease" criterion. Values of growth and maximum use of capacities are emphasized. He describes ways in which agencies and institutions, such as the family, school, and church, aid or hinder the realization of these values. As might be expected, this section suffers from the

inherent difficulty of the subject; it is far easier for the lay or professional person to define mental illness than mental health, the latter subject being more philosophically complex. The values of pleasure, of optimal affective response, and of "normality" might perhaps be supported, in addition to the value of organic growth and the flowering of capacity.

The reviewer highly recommends the distillation of the author's wide experience and wisdom about practical problems of community and regional organization for action in mental health and disease, found in Part Five.

W. T. Lhamon

Baylor University Medical College

JOHN B. KNOX: *The Sociology of Industrial Relations*. New York, Random House, Inc., 1955. 364 pages. \$5.00.

In this volume the author's stated purpose is to "analyze industrial relations in the United States at the present time," utilizing a "sociological approach which appears to be conceptually systematic and suitable for practical application." This he proposes to do by first describing the sociological orientation and then, in successive parts, by examining human relations in the industrial plant, relationships between industry and the community, and relationships between industry and society. Concepts presented as basic and essential for this examination are: interaction; mental images; definition of the situation; role, status, group, and culture; and persistence and change.

In Part II, the changing conceptions of the worker, the changing roles of

management, and the changes in worker-management relationship are described. It is fruitful, the author holds, to view the worker as a "bio-psychosocial being," the manager as a "relationship specialist," and the worker-manager relationship as a "social system." This social system is described in terms of structure, functioning, properties, problems of design, and governing principles.

In the analysis of relationships between industry and community it is held that as forms of worker-management relationship have changed, the accompanying type of community has changed, from an equalitarian to paternalistic to an atomistic social system. Major threats to equilibrium of industrial communities are given as: "(1) personal insecurity and fear of insecurity; (2) social stratification and fear of increased stratification; (3) racial or ethnic discrimination and its related fears and resentments." Industrial society is treated as the largest example of a social system. It is the author's thesis that "in this system prosperity is promised and equilibrium threatened by organized management and organized labor. The roles of these groups and the evolving role of government in industrial society are here examined."

As a systematic theoretical framework for industrial sociology, the author's scheme is elementary and inadequate. His result is something less than an exhaustive "analysis of industrial relations in the United States at the present time." Space limitations have forced constant oversimplification and cursory treatment of some highly complex topics—e.g., management's problems and practices with regard to race and ethnic relations receive three para-

graphs, injury and illness one paragraph, while morale is dealt with in a scant two pages which support the views of Elton Mayo in 1933, views, incidentally, which Mayo himself radically revised in writings appearing in 1945. As a first step toward the synthesis of an industrial sociology theory, the book is a laudable effort. It does provide a framework that will undoubtedly be altered and augmented.

Robert P. Bullock  
Ohio State University

NEIL MACNEIL and HAROLD W. METZ: *The Hoover Report, 1953-1955, What It Means to You As Citizen and Taxpayer*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. 344 pages. \$6.00.

This is a concise and readable condensation of the reports of the second Hoover Commission. For such an effort its authors were strategically close to all of the commission's work throughout its life, with MacNeil as the commission's editor-in-chief and Metz as chief of its research staff. In addition to being familiar with documentary materials, both attended commission meetings and many of the task force meetings.

After briefly reviewing the composition and major goals of the commission, describing the way in which it and its task forces worked, and giving special praise to Hoover's contribution, the authors set about the difficult task of reducing the more than three million words of the reports to a single volume. The many dissents in the reports have been excluded; only the majority

opinions in the final commission report are summarized. Philosophic concepts enunciated by the commission in approaching its problems are presented along with its principal findings and recommendations.

The book is divided into four major parts. The first, "The Tools of Government," deals with personnel and the civil service, budget and accounting, legal services and procedure, paper work and red tape, and real property. The second, "Big Government," deals with the federal government's activities in the fields of water resources and power, in its various lending and insurance programs, in business enterprises, and in medical services. The third, "The Big Spender," deals with the Department of Defense and surveys a number of its business-type activities—food and clothing supply, transportation, depot utilization, research and development, and the disposal of surplus property—before considering the over-all organization of the department. The last part deals with overseas economic operations.

The personnel of all task forces and committees of the commission, together with short biographical sketches of commissioners and task force members, are included in appendices.

Within the limits which the authors set, this is an able presentation, though it is perhaps regrettable that some of the dissents in the reports could not have been included for better balance on a few of the more controversial recommendations. Those who want a quick summary of the majority views of the commission will find this most useful.

Howard A. Calkins  
University of Texas

*The Teaching of the Social Sciences in India.* New York, UNESCO Publication Center, 1956. 197 pages. \$2.50.

This UNESCO guide is a valuable summary of how the various social sciences (economics, politics, international relations, sociology, social psychology, social anthropology, and law) are organized and presented in various Indian universities. It pays special attention to the organization of India's colleges and universities, the merits of various departments in each university, the courses of instruction, the requirements for undergraduate and graduate degrees, and the textbooks used in various courses, as well as the history of the various disciplines in India. As a reference work it should be especially useful for academic administrators who have to evaluate the work of students from India and for American students and professors planning to study or undertake research in India.

Edward R. O'Connor  
Washington, D.C.

GEORGE B. CRESSEY: *Land of the 500 Million: A Geography of China.* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956. 387 pages. \$7.50.

THEODORE SHABAD: *China's Changing Map.* New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1956. 295 pages. \$7.50.

Two geographers have recently written books on China and the changes that have taken place as a result of the Chinese revolution. Both books discuss first, in general terms, the basis of the physical and cultural landscape. Cres-

sey goes into considerable detail about the problems of the people, and his chapters on climate, water, the analysis of the crops available, the resources of the country, and the importance of commerce and industry make up close to half the book. Shabad devotes only one-third of his discussion to basic cultural and physical features. The remainder of his book is a systematic political and economic analysis of the changes brought about in China since 1949.

The regional treatment as used by Shabad provides a province-by-province analysis in terms of industrial construction, urbanization, and an analysis of the newly organized autonomous minority areas. Cressey, on the other hand, devotes most of the second half of his book to an analysis of regional differences, and in this way evaluates the country's potentiality. Developments since 1949 are stressed only indirectly.

The essential difference in the approach used by these two men is based on their training and experiences. Cressey's book is the result of a lifetime of study about China. He lived in China for many years, and his earlier books, *China's Geographic Foundations* (1934) and *Asia's Lands and Peoples* (1944 and 1951), have established him as one of the foremost American authorities on this part of the world. The present book, according to its author, "supplements rather than duplicates these studies."

Shabad's work has been much less as a trained geographer in the field than as one working from a broader perspective, viewing the economic geography and industrial development of communistic countries. In many ways, his

present book on China follows the basic outline and approach of his earlier book, *A Geography of the U.S.S.R.* He uses political divisions as the basis for his regional analyses, often comparing China with Soviet institutions and the nature and rate of China's economic experiments with those of the Soviet Union.

In the opinion of the reviewer, Cressey's is the much more readable of the two books and probably much more easily understood by the layman, in spite of his strictly academic background. Perhaps his intimate contact with the Chinese people since he first crossed Outer Mongolia to enter China in 1923 has allowed him to view and report on a much more personal basis the problems of the diverse areas which make up China than is possible in the work of Shabad, who bases his study exclusively on the available literature and who views the future development and the result of the Chinese revolution from a much broader point of view.

*The Land of the 500 Million* is amply supplemented with excellent maps and photographs that are closely integrated with the text. The use of aerial photographs is of particular value and appropriateness in a book on geography. Of special value is the most detailed bibliography, organized under many subheadings and following closely the chapter organization.

Shabad's book, though providing much political and economic data, organized largely on a political basis, has a much more limited and specific objective than does Cressey's. The limitations are set forth by the author himself when he says "political and economic changes since 1949 have been emphasized throughout the book." Photo-

graphs are totally lacking in this book, and the sixteen maps, of purely locational value, are of the type common in newspapers. Included are a few brief bibliographic notes, which are of little value to the serious student.

One of the great merits of Cressey's book is its concluding chapter. There the author tries to evaluate the assets and limitations of this large country and relate them to her prospects in terms of domestic planning and world relations. Drawing these conclusions is greatly facilitated by the organization of the book as a whole. The constant awareness of the regional differences permits the author to present to the reader a sound evaluation of "how much and what is where." Perhaps the problem of China is best summarized in Cressey's concluding statement: "Five hundred million people are China's greatest asset, and her greatest problem. If they use their intelligence, geography has provided the foundation for an important future."

George Hoffman  
University of Texas

PIERRE DUBOIS: *The Recovery of the Holy Land*. Translated with an introduction by W. I. Brandt. New York, Columbia University Press, 1956. 251 pages. \$4.50.

Scholars and students will welcome the first English translation of Pierre Dubois' *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte*, now presented to us by Walter I. Brandt. This fourteenth-century work defending the royal power has, like Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor Pacis*, long had the dubious honor of being one of the most cited and least



read of the political tracts of the time. Indeed, no usable text has been available since Langlois' *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, published in 1891.

The work properly belongs in the mass of literature which arose out of the dispute between Philip le Bel and Boniface VIII. In addition to being typical of the arguments advanced in defense of the royalist position, it contains some rather utopian schemes for the reorganization of Christendom of Dubois' own contriving. Students will now have the opportunity of following Dubois' scheme in detail and will be struck with the shrewdness and practicality of many of his observations on administration, education, and politics, despite the grandiose character of his over-all concept. The translator's able introduction, which details the known life of Dubois and paints the background against which he lived and wrote, is likewise a valuable contribution to the study of medieval political ideas. A thorough bibliography of the writings of Dubois and of works dealing with him and his times enhances the value of the volume.

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
University of Texas

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December, 1956

Alderfer, Harold F.: *American Local Government and Administration*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. 662 pages. \$5.90.

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## News and Notes

### *Accounting*

G. M. JONES, instructor in accounting at Louisiana State University, has resigned to accept a position as assistant professor of accounting at Michigan State University.

R. H. VAN VOORHIS has been appointed professor and head of the Department of Accounting, Louisiana State University, beginning in February, 1957. He replaces LLOYD MORRISON, who is resigning as head of the department for reasons of health, though he will continue as a senior member of the accounting faculty.

### *Business Administration*

W. H. BAUGHN, professor of business administration at Louisiana State University, has resigned to accept a similar position at the University of Texas.

H. E. BICE has been appointed visiting professor of business administration at Louisiana State University. He will conduct work in foreign trade.

MAURICE C. CROSS, of Syracuse University, has been appointed visiting professor of management in the College of Business Administration, University of Texas.

D. H. DYKE has been appointed assistant professor of business administration at Louisiana State University. His work will be in business law.

M. S. GOLDBERG, formerly instructor in business administration at Louisi-

ana State University, has resigned to accept a position at Michigan State University.

EDMUND C. LYNCH has been appointed instructor in management in the College of Business Administration, University of Texas.

JAMES W. REDDOCH has been appointed acting head of the Department of Business Administration in addition to his duties as assistant to the dean, Louisiana State University.

JOHN A. RYAN, formerly of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been appointed assistant professor of marketing in the College of Business Administration, University of Texas.

JAMES B. TRANT retired on June 30, 1956, after twenty-eight years as dean of the College of Commerce at Louisiana State University. He becomes dean emeritus.

### *Economics*

A DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS was organized in January, 1956, within the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Kansas, with LELAND J. PRITCHARD, professor of finance, as chairman. This department has been associated with the School of Business since 1924.

ROGER L. BOWLBY has returned from a year of study at the London School of Economics and Political Science and has accepted an appointment as



instructor in economics at the University of Texas.

DWIGHT S. BROTHERS, of Princeton University, has been appointed assistant professor of economics at Rice Institute.

EDMUNDO FLORES has been granted a leave of absence from the Ministry of the Treasury and the University of Mexico to accept a visiting professorship in the Department of Economics at the University of Texas for 1956-57.

MANUEL GOTTLIEB has been appointed associate professor of economics, theory, and public finance at the University of Kansas.

GRAHAM HUNT has been appointed assistant instructor in economics at the University of Kansas.

LEON LEE has completed requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Louisiana State University and has returned to his former position as assistant professor of economics at the University of Oklahoma.

ERWIN E. LIEBHAFSKY, of Pennsylvania State University, has been appointed associate professor of economics at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College.

WILLIAM A. MAUER has been appointed instructor in economics at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College.

LEE J. MELTON, formerly of the University of Florida, has been appointed associate professor of economics at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1956.

GLENN MILLER, JR., has been appointed

ed assistant instructor in economics at the University of Kansas.

AURELIUS MORGNER, professor of economics at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been granted a leave of absence for 1956-57 to teach in U.S. Air Force bases in Europe.

MURRAY E. POLAKOFF, assistant professor of economics at the University of Texas, has returned after being at Harvard University on a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, working in the fields of Russian economics and monetary theory and policy. He also received a fellowship from the Foundation for Economic Education and spent the summer with the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York City.

HAROLD RIFE has been appointed instructor in economics at the University of Kansas.

WILLIAM D. ROSS, professor of economics, was appointed dean of the College of Commerce, Louisiana State University, beginning July 1, 1956.

HARRY SHAFFER has been appointed instructor in economics at the University of Kansas.

B. F. SLIGER has been promoted to associate professor of economics at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1956.

CHARLES STALEY, instructor in economics at the University of Kansas, has completed his doctoral work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

EDSEL E. THRASH has been appointed

an instructor in economics at Louisiana State University. Last year he held an Earhart Foundation fellowship.

CLINTON WARNE has been appointed assistant professor of economics, transportation, and consumer economics at the University of Kansas.

W. H. WESSON, visiting associate professor of economics, has been appointed head of the Department of Economics, Louisiana State University. He is replacing H. L. McCracken, who is doing research at the University of California while on a sabbatical leave of absence.

### *Geography*

ROBERT M. CRISLER has been appointed head of the Social Studies Department, Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

ALLEN D. HELLMAN, formerly of the University of Michigan, has been appointed assistant professor of geography at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

J. TRENTON KOSTBADE has resigned as assistant professor of geography at Southwestern Louisiana Institute to accept a similar position at Central Michigan College of Education.

RALPH E. OLSON has been appointed to a four-year term as chairman of the Department of Geography at the University of Oklahoma. HARRY E. HOY, who served in this position for eight years, will continue as a full professor in the department.

ROBERT M. WEBB, formerly of the University of Kansas, has been ap-

pointed assistant professor of geography at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

### *Government*

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS has inaugurated an international-studies program under the supervision of an interdepartmental committee headed by JAMES R. ROACH, associate professor of government. The program is designed to provide a focus on international affairs for interested and able undergraduate students and to train students in various aspects of international affairs with a view toward providing competent personnel for government and other employment. It will be based on existing degree requirements in the College of Arts and Sciences but will require specific additional course work as well as a particular concentration within the college requirements.

THE COMMITTEE on East European Studies of the University of Texas held a three-day conference in Austin on October 11-13, 1956, on "The Present Political State of East Europe." The conference was financed by a grant from the Social Science Research Council. Discussion leaders included Professor John Hazard, of Columbia University; Professor Andrei Lobonov-Rostovsky, of the University of Michigan; John Morrison, Geographic Consultant on the U.S.S.R.; Harrison Salisbury, of *The New York Times*; and Professor Donald Hodgman, of the University of California. Students and interested persons from several Southwestern states participated in

the conference. GEORGE HOFFMAN, of the Department of Geography, was the chairman, and H. MALCOLM MACDONALD represented the Department of Government.

RONALD J. BUNN, formerly of Duke University, has been appointed instructor in government at the University of Texas.

WESLEY CHUMLEA, formerly of the University of Texas, has accepted an appointment as instructor in government at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College.

WILLIAM GORE, formerly of the University of Washington, has joined the faculty of the University of Kansas as assistant professor of political science. He will direct the expanded M.P.A. program in state administration.

WILLIAM M. GRIFFIN, formerly of the University of Texas, has accepted an appointment as research assistant in the School of Public Administration, Florida State University.

JOHN GRUMM has joined the faculty of the University of Kansas as assistant professor of political science. He will teach courses in state and local government.

MYRON Q. HALF, formerly lecturer at Columbia University, has been appointed instructor in government at the University of Texas.

KENNETH KOFMEHL will serve as visiting assistant professor of political science at the University of Kansas.

J. G. LIEBENOW has been appointed assistant professor of government at the University of Texas, having re-

cently completed his Ph.D. degree at Northwestern University in the program of African Studies. He has recently returned from a year's research project in Tanganyika and East Africa.

JAMES W. SANDERS, professor of political science at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, died on March 21, 1956.

RHOTEN A. SMITH has returned to the University of Kansas after completing a year's leave of absence to serve as associate director of the National Citizenship Clearing House, Law Center, New York University.

JAMES R. SOUKUP, formerly of the University of Michigan, has been appointed instructor in government at the University of Texas.

EDWARD TABORSKY has returned from a temporary appointment as visiting professor of political science at the University of Tennessee to his post as associate professor of government at the University of Texas.

JAMES EMERSON TITUS has resigned as instructor in government at the University of Texas to accept appointment as instructor in government at Texas Technological College.

CHARLES WARREN VAN CLEVE, who recently completed a tour of duty with the United States Air Force, has been appointed instructor in government, University of Texas.

### *History*

WILLIAM H. ADAMS, formerly of Nichols Junior College (Massachusetts), has been appointed assistant

- professor of history at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.
- ROBERT G. ATHEARN has been promoted to professor in the Department of History, University of Colorado.
- VINCENT BEACH has been promoted to associate professor in the Department of History, University of Colorado.
- GEORGE M. BECKMANN has been promoted to associate professor in the Department of History, University of Kansas. He has also received a Ford Foundation fellowship to study and travel in Japan and Southeast Asia.
- LOWELL L. BLAISDELL, formerly of Arkansas Polytechnic College, has been appointed visiting assistant professor for 1956-57 in the Department of History, University of Oklahoma.
- HAL BRIDGES has been promoted to associate professor in the Department of History, University of Colorado.
- ROBERT P. BROWDER has been promoted to associate professor in the Department of History at the University of Colorado.
- SIDNEY D. BROWN, assistant professor of history, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been awarded a Ford Foundation fellowship. He will be doing research in Japan on a biographical study of Okubo Toshimichi, Japanese statesman.
- VINCENT H. CASSIDY, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed assistant professor of history at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.
- BERLIN B. CHAPMAN, professor of history, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, is on a sabbatical leave of absence and Social Science Research Council grant-in-aid until September, 1957. He will be in Washington, D.C., continuing research on the land history of the Oto and Missouri Indians.
- A. K. CHRISTIAN, professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, retired in June, 1956. He had served on the faculty since 1922.
- HARRY DELARUE, professor of history and head of the Social Studies Department, has retired from the faculty of Southwestern Louisiana Institute.
- JOHN PAUL DENSFORD, candidate for the doctoral degree at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has accepted a position as temporary instructor in the Department of History, Southwestern State College (Oklahoma).
- HERBERT ELLISON, formerly of the University of Washington, has accepted appointment as assistant professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, teaching courses in Russian history.
- RAYMOND A. ESTHUS, who received his doctoral degree at Duke University in June, 1956, has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Houston.
- ROBERT I. GIESBERG, doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania, has returned to his position as

instructor in history at the University of Houston after a year's absence for research in France.

HARRY HAROOTUNIAN, of the University of Michigan, has accepted a position as temporary assistant professor in Far East history at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

ROBERT V. HAYNES, doctoral candidate at Rice Institute, has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Houston.

W. E. HOLLON has been promoted to professor of history at the University of Oklahoma.

ALFRED LEVIN, professor of history at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship and is on sabbatical leave of absence in Finland, where he will continue research on the Third Imperial Duma.

MAX L. MOORHEAD has been promoted to professor of history at the University of Oklahoma.

MARGUERITE POTTER has been promoted to associate professor of history, Texas Christian University. She recently completed a year's leave of absence for research work at the University of Texas.

C. B. RANSOM has been appointed chairman of the Department of History at the University of Houston, succeeding ERNEST C. SHEARER, who has accepted a position at Sul Ross College.

HURSHAL HERBERT RISINGER, assistant professor of history at Southwestern State College, has accepted

a position as temporary instructor in the Department of History, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

AMBROSE SARICKS has been promoted to associate professor of history at the University of Kansas.

HANS A. SCHMITT, assistant professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, is on a leave of absence for 1956-57. He has a Fulbright fellowship to do research in Luxemburg.

AMOS E. SIMPSON, formerly of the University of Arkansas, has been appointed associate professor of history at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

JAMES A. TINSLEY has been promoted to associate professor of history at the University of Houston.

STUART R. TOMPKINS has resigned as professor of history at the University of Oklahoma to accept a position at the University of Toronto.

CARL UBBELOHDE has been promoted to assistant professor of history, University of Colorado.

MILTON I. VANGER, of Harvard University, has accepted a position as instructor in Latin-American history at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

### *Sociology*

ALVIN L. BERTRAND has been promoted to professor of sociology and rural sociologist at Louisiana State University.

THOMAS DAWES ELIOT, professor emeritus of Northwestern University, is serving as visiting professor

of sociology during the fall semester of 1956-57 at Louisiana State University.

GEORGE K. FLORO has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology at Louisiana State University. He has also been awarded a hospital-and-medical-facilities research grant by the National Institute of Health of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

ROBERT HARLAN FOLEN, who recently received a Ph.D. degree from Cornell University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

BEN KAPLAIN has been promoted to professor of sociology at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

MORTON B. KING, JR., past chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Mississippi, is visiting professor of sociology for 1956-57 at Southern Methodist University.

M. LAVERN NORRIS is returning to Southern Methodist University as instructor of sociology. He recently completed his final year of graduate study at Louisiana State University.

WALTER T. WATSON, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Southern Methodist University, is a visiting professor at Southern Illinois University for 1956-57.

OLIVER R. WHITLEY, formerly professor of sociology at Phillips University, has joined the faculty of the Iliff School of Theology (Denver) as associate professor of sociology of

religion and head of the Department.

### *Of General Interest*

The Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, financed by grants of \$250,000 from the Ford Foundation and \$50,000 from the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation Trust to St. Louis and Washington universities, began in June, 1956. It will consist of a series of comprehensive governmental, social, and economic studies of the St. Louis metropolitan area, with particular reference to the city of St. Louis and St. Louis County. The planned completion date is September, 1957.

The research designed currently consists of six major types of investigations: governmental jurisdictions; functional services; finance and revenue; population, land use, and economic developments; social areas; and citizen participation and interest in government. Data in these fields will be collected and collated primarily on the basis of a number of working hypotheses, some of which will be tested by an attitude and participation study.

The Metropolitan St. Louis Survey welcomes communications from individuals and organizations recently completing analyses or presently working in any of these fields of inquiry or in allied areas of investigation. Correspondence should be addressed to John C. Bollens, Executive Officer and Director of Research, Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, 8147 Delmar Blvd., University City 24, Missouri.



*Revue Internationale d'Ethnopsychologie Normale et Pathologique* has made its appearance on the list of international journals. Volume 1, Number 1, contains articles from London, Devon, Pennsylvania, Brussels, Paris, and Toronto. Subject matter is equally diverse. Contributions are received in any language, reduced to Latin letters. Publication is in the language of the writer, and summaries are offered in French, English, or German, as needed. Correspondence concerning the quarterly should be addressed to Docteur Charles Pidoux, 37 Avenida Menendez y Pelayo, Tangiers.

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis announces that fellowships are available for social scientists who wish to apply their professional skills to the emotional, social, and psychological problems of patients with physical disabilities.

The program of study must be un-

dertaken in a rehabilitation program in which medical and medical associate personnel are offering integrated services. Research and teaching interests are highly desirable.

Financial support for a Fellow ranges from \$3,600 to \$6,000 a year, depending upon marital status and number of dependents. Under unusual circumstances, higher stipends may be permitted. For a full academic program, complete tuition and fees are paid; for other programs, a sum not to exceed \$1,250 including tuition may be arranged. Graduate students with not less than two years of completed work toward the Ph.D. will be considered. All applicants must be citizens of the United States.

Applications must be received by March 1, 1957, for consideration in May, 1957. For further information write to: Division of Professional Education, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, 120 Broadway, New York 5, New York.

The Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene, of the University of Texas, has made a grant to the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* for the current year, as a means of providing an additional outlet for research by social scientists of the Southwest. This grant is the approximate amount of the difference between the cost of publishing the *Quarterly* and the support the Association is able to give it.



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